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UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO

THE GENERAL PEACE OF 1802.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF MOIRA.

Factorum est copia nobis.

Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

VOL. XXIV.

OR VOL. XV. OF THE MODERN PART.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY HOPKINS AND SEYMOUR, FOR

SAMUEL STANSBURY AND CO.

1805.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT,

TO THE

PRESENT TIME,

OF

NORTH & SOUTH AMERICA,

AND OF

THE WEST-INDIES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF MOIRA.

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IN the history of the world there is no event more curious and important than the discovery of America, which, with its surrounding seas, forms a complete hemisphere to our planet, of which the ancients certainly knew no more than 180 degrees. To the glory of an event of such magnitude, and followed by such important consequences to the interests of commerce, many nations have laid claim. The limits of a small volume will not allow us to enter into the various disquisitions which have been written on the subject, in defence of the contending parties. We have followed our own historian, and given the honour of the discovery to Christopher Columbus. And notwithstanding all that was said before the publication of Dr. Robertson's History, by Gomara and others, or since by M. Otto*, with a view of snatching the laurel from the Genoese, we are persuaded that the evidence in behalf of Columbus's claims are clear and satisfactory.

We have likewise followed the same authority in endeavouring to account for the manner by which America was originally peopled †. Of the various other theories on this subject we judge it

* See a letter from M. Otto to Dr. Franklin, with a memoir on the discovery of America. American Philosophical Transactions, Vol. II. quarto, 1786.

† See chap. iii.

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right to mention one in this place which is plausible and well supported. The abbé Clavigero, a native of America, thinks that there remains no other solution to this intricate question than by supposing an ancient union between the equinoctial countries of America with those of Africa, and a connexion of the northern countries of America with Europe on the east, and with Asia, on the west; so that according to this gentleman there has probably been a period since the flood, in which there was but one continent, when the beasts of the cold climates passed over the northern isthmuses which perhaps connected Europe, America, and Asia; and the animals and reptiles peculiar to hot countries passed over the isthmus that connected South America with Africa. For from various reasons he is induced to believe that there was formerly a tract of land uniting the easternmost part of Brazil to the westernmost part of Africa, which may have been sunk by some violent agitation of nature, leaving only a few traces of it in that chain of islands of which Cape de Verd, Fernandez, Ascension, and St. Matthew Islands, make a part.

All other theories, he says are subject to enormous difficulties; and though this be not without some, yet they are not altogether insurmountable. The most formidable is the supposition of an earthquake so violent as to submerge a tract of land more than fifteen hundred miles in length, which according to this hypothesis united Africa and South America. It is not necessary, however, to ascribe this stupendous revolution to a single shock; it may have been effected by a succession of earthquakes, such as was felt in Canada, in 1663, which overturned a chain of free-stone mountains up-

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wards of three hundred miles in length, converting the whole of that immense tract into one entire plain*. Such is the bare outline of this gentleman's theory, which he has fortified by many arguments that merit the attention of the naturalist and philosopher.

The plan of the ensuing volume will be evident from a slight inspection of the table of contents: the first six chapters contain a complete history of the discoveries and settlements made by Columbus, Cortes, Pizarro, and others, under the auspices of the court of Spain. The seventh gives a brief account of the Portuguese settlements in South America. We then come to the discoveries and settlements made by our own countrymen. And it was by accident only that Henry VII. had not an earlier and more considerable share in those naval transactions, by which that age was so eminently distinguished. He had invited Columbus to London to explain to him his project; but Bartholomew his brother, the bearer of the invitation, was, in his voyage, taken by pirates, and detained in their custody, till Columbus had obtained the protection of Isabella, and had sailed on the fortunate expedition. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment, but sent Sebastian Cabot in search of new countries. The result of his voyage was the discovery and afterwards the settlement of the more northerly parts of America, Newfoundland, and that part of the continent which is now erected into the empire of the United States. The rise of these states, and their progressive history to the present times, together with an historical account of the West-In-

* Clavigero's History of Mexico.

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dia Islands, will be found detailed in the remainder of the volume.

Upon the whole we may venture to assure the reader, that the history of America in its several parts will not be found less interesting or less important than that of any of the foregoing volumes. Indeed the discovery of this great continent, with the neighbouring islands, has been attended with almost incalculable advantages to all the nations of Europe, even to such as were not immediately concerned in those naval enterprises. The enlargement of commerce and navigation increased industry and the arts every where. The nobles dissipated their fortunes in expensive pleasures: men of inferior rank, by wealth gained in America, acquired a share of landed property in Europe, and created to themselves a considerable property of a new kind, in stock, credit, and correspondence. In some nations the privileges of the commons were increased by this increase of property; and in all places the condition of the great mass of the people was improved by the trade carried on between the Old and the New World.

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MODERN HISTORY.

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

Introduction. Importance of the Discovery of America. Mariner's Compass. The Portuguese the first Adventurers in pursuit of foreign Countries. Birth and Education of Columbus. Enters the Service of Portugal. His Marriage. Conceives Hopes of reaching the East-Indies by holding a westerly Course. His Theory on the Subject. His Application to different Courts. His plans acceded to by the King and Queen of Spain. His Voyage of Discovery. Difficulties. Success. Lands at Guanahani. Sails to Cuba after Gold. To Hispaniola. Leaves a Colony there, and returns to Spain. The Difficulties of his Voyage Home. Astonishment and Joy of Mankind on the Discovery of the New World. His Reception at Court. The Reason of the Name West-Indies. *His second Voyage. Finds the Colony all destroyed. Builds a Town. His Followers mutiny. Builds the Fort St. Thomas. Sets sail. Discovers Jamaica. His Distresses. Returns to Hispaniola. War with the Indians. Tax imposed on them. Desolation of the Indians. Columbus returns to Spain. His Reception. Third Voyage. Discovers the Island of Trinidad. Entangled in the River Oronoco. Discovers the Continent. Voyage of the Portuguese to the East.*

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Indies by the Cape of Good-Hope. The Reason of the Name America. *Distresses of Columbus. Sails in Quest of the East-Indies by a new Passage. Arrives at Hispaniola. His Treatment there. His Prediction of a Storm. The Consequences of neglecting it. His Distresses. Runs his Ship aground at Jamaica. Indians refuse him Assistance. Foretells an Eclipse of the Moon, and takes advantage of it. Returns to Spain, His Treatment and Death.*

AS individuals are protected in the enjoyment of their wealth and commerce by the power of the community, so the general body deduces equivalent advantages from the extensive trade and vast opulence of private persons. The grandeur of the state, and the happiness and security of its subjects, are, with respect to commerce, inseparable. That policy must ever be narrow and short-sighted which would aggrandize the state by the oppression of its members. Every thing is purchased by labour, which alone is infinitely more valuable than the richest mines of gold and silver. The possession of the latter has in many instances rendered nations poor and contemptible; but in no instance have affluence and felicity failed to accompany industry guided by prudence. A superfluity of labour is a real treasure to society, which may at any time be employed like money in the public service. Hence arise the great advantages of foreign commerce, which, by augmenting the labour, in effect increases the grandeur of the state and the wealth of the subject. By its imports it furnishes the materials of industry; and by its exports it affords encouragement for exertion. Thus the mind acquires additional vigour;

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it enlarges its powers and faculties, and the spirit of improvement is, at length, seen in every art and science.

If commerce be considered as essential to industry, and labour necessary to the opulence and happiness of society, we cannot but regard the discovery of the vast continent of America, and the islands with which it is on all sides surrounded, as one of the most important consequences of the discovery of the mariner's compass, and the improvements in navigation. Without a knowledge of the West-Indies, the intercourse with the East-Indies would be of little advantage to Europe; it might even be pernicious, by draining it of its gold and silver: whereas we now purchase the commodities of the latter not only with European manufactures, but with the silver dug out of the mines of Potosi. To her possessions in Chili, Peru, Mexico, and the Antilles, Spain owes all her opulence. Great-Britain, by means of her colonies on the continent of America, raised herself to a great and envied height of grandeur and importance. Portugal almost owes her existence to her possessions in Brazil. In short, every nation in Europe, either immediately or circuitously, has derived considerable advantages from the discovery of the western world.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century we date the discovery of the compass, A. D. 1302. which may, with great propriety, be said to have opened to man the dominion of the sea, and to have put him in full possession of the terrestrial globe, by enabling him to visit every part of it. The art of steering by this instrument was gradually acquired. Sailors, unaccustomed to quit sight of land, durst not launch out and commit themselves to unknown seas. The first appear-

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ance of a bolder spirit may be dated from
A. D. 1344. the voyages of the Spaniards to the Canary or Fortunate Islands. By what accident they were led to the discovery of those small isles, which lie 500 miles from the Spanish coast, and more than 150 miles from the coast of Africa, contemporary writers have not explained; and their subsequent voyages thither seem not to have been undertaken in consequence of any public or regular plan for extending navigation, or of attempting new discoveries.

At length, however, the period arrived when Providence decreed that men were to pass the limits within which they had so long been confined, and open to themselves a more ample field wherein to display their talents, their enterprise, and courage. The first efforts towards this were not made by any of the more powerful states of Europe, or by those who had applied to navigation with the greatest assiduity and success. The glory of leading the way in this new career was reserved for Portugal, one of the smallest and least powerful of the European kingdoms.

Among the foreigners, whom the fame of the discoveries made by the Portuguese in Africa had allured into their service, was Christopher Colon or Columbus, a subject of the republic of Genoa, who discovered, at a very early period, a peculiar propensity for a seafaring life. His parents encouraged his wishes by the education which they gave him. At the age of fourteen he began his career on that element which conducted him to so much glory. With a near relation, who commanded a small squadron, Columbus continued several years, distinguished equally for talents and

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true courage. At length, in an obstinate engagement off the coast of Portugal with some Venetian caravels, the vessel on board which he served took fire, together with one of the enemy's ships to which it was fast grappled. In this dreadful extremity he threw himself into the sea, laid hold of a floating oar, and by the support of that, and his own dexterity in swimming, he reached the shore, and saved a life reserved for great undertakings.

As soon as he had recovered his strength for the journey, he repaired to Lisbon, where he married a Portuguese lady. This alliance, instead of detaching him from a seafaring life, contributed to enlarge the sphere of his naval knowledge, and to excite a desire of extending it still farther. His wife was daughter of an experienced navigator, from whose journals and charts Columbus learned the course which the Portuguese had held in making their discoveries, as well as the various circumstances which guided or encouraged them in their attempts. The study of these soothed and inflamed his favourite passion; and while he contemplated the maps, and read the descriptions of the new countries seen by his father-in-law, his impatience to visit them became irresistible. He made a voyage to Madeira, and for several years continued to trade with that island, with the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and all the other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa.

To find out a passage by sea to the East-Indies was the great object in view at that period. From the time that the Portuguese doubled Cape de Verd, this was the point at which they aimed in all their navigations, and, in comparison with it, all their discoveries in Africa appeared as incon-

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siderable. The Portuguese, however, searched for it only by steering south, in hopes of arriving at India by turning to the east when they had sailed round the farther extremity of Africa; while Columbus, after revolving every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge in the theory as well as the practice of navigation, after comparing attentively the observations of modern pilots with the hints and conjectures of ancient authors, concluded that by sailing directly towards the west across the Atlantic, new countries, which probably formed a part of India, must infallibly be discovered. In this opinion he was confirmed by the observations of his brother Bartholomew, who was a geographer by profession, and who, in drawing his maps of the world, was astonished that of 360 degrees of longitude only 180 at most were known; and, of course, there remained as much of the world to be discovered as had already been found out: and as it seemed by no means probable that the ocean could extend, without any interruption, over one entire hemisphere, he maintained that, by keeping constantly west from the Canaries, they must infallibly come either to islands or to a continent. Facts were not wanting to strengthen this plausible theory: a Portuguese pilot having stretched farther to the west than was usual at that time, took up a piece of timber artificially carved, floating upon the sea; and as it was driven towards him by a westerly wind, he concluded that it came from some unknown land situated in that quarter. Columbus's brother-in-law had found to the west of the Madeira isles a piece of timber fashioned in the same manner, and brought by the same wind. Trees torn up by their roots were frequently driven by westerly

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winds upon the coasts of the Azores, and at one time the dead bodies of two men, with singular features, resembling neither the inhabitants of Europe nor of Africa, were cast ashore there.

As the force of this united evidence, arising from theoretical principles and practical observations, led Columbus to expect the discovery of new countries in the Western Ocean, other reasons induced him to believe that these must be connected with the continent of India. He communicated his theory to Paul, a physician of Florence, eminent for his knowledge in the science of cosmography, who entered warmly into the views of Columbus, and encouraged him in an undertaking which promised so much benefit to the world. A. D. 1474.

Having satisfied his own mind with respect to the truth of his system, Columbus stood in need of no stimulus to urge him to reduce it to practice. His first step was to secure the patronage of some European power. To this end he laid his scheme before the senate of Genoa, making, as became a good citizen, his native land the first tender of his services. They rejected his proposal, as the dream of a chimerical projector. He next applied to John II. king of Portugal, a monarch of enterprising genius, and no incompetent judge of naval affairs. The king listened to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to a number of eminent geographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. These men, from mean and interested views, started innumerable objections, and asked many captious questions, in order to betray Columbus into a full explanation

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of his system. Having in a great measure gained their ends, they advised the king to dispatch a vessel, secretly, to attempt the proposed discovery, by following exactly the course which this great man had pointed out. John, forgetting, on this occasion, the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted their perfidious counsel.

Upon hearing of this dishonourable transaction, Columbus indignantly quitted the kingdom, and landed in Spain. Here he presented his scheme to Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. They injudiciously submitted it to the examination of unskilful judges, who, ignorant of the principles on which Columbus founded his theory, rejected it as absurd; maintaining that, if there were really any such countries as Columbus pretended, they would not have remained so long concealed; nor would the wisdom and sagacity of former ages have left the glory of this discovery to an obscure Genoese.

A. D. 1484.

Columbus, who had experienced the uncertain issue of his applications, had taken the precaution of sending into England his brother Bartholomew, to whom he had fully communicated his ideas, to negociate the matter with Henry VII. On his voyage thither he fell into the hands of pirates, who stripped him of every thing, and detained him a prisoner several years. At length he made his escape, and arrived at London in extreme indigence, where he employed himself some time in selling maps. With his gains he purchased a decent dress, and in person presented to the king the proposals which his brother had intrusted to his management. Notwithstanding Henry's ex-

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cessive caution and parsimony, he received the plans of Columbus with more approbation than any monarch to whom they had been presented.

After several unsuccessful applications to other European powers of less note, he was induced, by the entreaty of Perez, a man of learning, and who had great influence with Isabella, to apply a second time to the court of Spain. Isabella became his munificent patroness, and to her ultimately he owed his success.

Though the name of Ferdinand appears conjoined with that of his queen in this transaction, yet his distrust of Columbus was still so violent, that he refused to take any part in the enterprise as king of Arragon. And as the whole expense of the expedition was to be defrayed by the crown of Castile, Isabella reserved to her subjects of that kingdom an exclusive right to all the benefits which might redound from its success.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Isabella, by her attention and activity in forwarding the preparations for the voyage, endeavoured to make some reparation to Columbus for the time which he had lost in fruitless solicitation. A squadron of three ships was fitted out, victualled for twelve months, and furnished with ninety men. And on the third day of August he left Spain, in the presence of a crowd of spectators, who united their supplications to heaven for his success. He steered directly for the Canary islands, where he arrived and refitted, and on the 6th of September set sail in a due western course into an unknown ocean. A. D. 1492.

Here the voyage of discovery may be said to begin. The first day, as it was very calm, he made but little progress; but on the second, he

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lost sight of the Canaries; and many of the sailors, dejected already and dismayed, when they contemplated the boldness of the undertaking, began to beat their breasts, and to shed tears, as if they were never more to behold land. Columbus comforted them with assurances of success, and the prospect of vast wealth in those opulent regions whither he was conducting them. Happily for himself, and for the country by which he was employed, he joined to the ardent temper and inventive genius of a projector, virtues of another species, which are rarely united with them. He possessed a thorough knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, a patient perseverance in executing any plan; the perfect government of his own passions, and the talent of acquiring an ascendant over those of other men. All these qualities, which formed him for command, were accompanied with a superior knowledge of his profession, which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger. As soon as they put to sea he regulated every thing by his sole authority; he superintended the execution of every order; and allowing himself only a few hours for sleep, he was at all other times upon deck. He attended to the motion of tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearance of fishes, of sea-weed, and of every thing that floated on the waves, and entered every occurrence, with a minute exactness, in the journal which he kept. By the 14th of September the fleet was more than 200 leagues to the west of the Canary isles. There they were struck with an appearance no less astonishing than new. They observed that the magnetic needle, in their compasses, did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased.

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This phenomenon filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in a boundless unknown ocean, far from the usual course of navigation; nature itself seemed to have altered, and the only guide which they had left was about to fail them. Columbus invented a reason for this appearance, which though not satisfactory to himself, seemed so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears, or silenced their murmurs.

Upon the first of October they were according to the admiral's reckoning, 770 leagues to the west of the Canaries. They had now been three weeks at sea, and had proceeded far beyond what former navigators had attempted or deemed possible, and their prospect of success seemed to be as distant as ever. These reflections occurred often to men who had no other object or occupation than to reflect on the intention and circumstances of their expedition. They made impression, at first, on the timid and ignorant, and extending, by degrees, to such as were better informed or more resolute, the contagion spread at length from ship to ship. From secret whispers they proceeded to open cabals and public complaints. All agreed that Columbus should be compelled by force to make the best way home. Some even proposed to throw him into the sea, as the surest mode of getting rid of his remonstrances; being persuaded that, upon their return to Spain, the death of an unsuccessful projector would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curiosity.

Columbus was fully sensible of his perilous situation. He had observed with great uneasiness the disaffection of his crew: he retained, however, perfect presence of mind, and affected to be ignorant of their machinations. Sometimes he employed all the arts of insinuation to sooth his

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men. Sometimes he endeavoured to work upon their ambition and avarice, by magnificent descriptions of the fame and wealth which they were about to acquire. On other occasions he assumed the tone of authority, and threatened them with the vengeance of their sovereign, if, by their dastardly behaviour, they should defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and to exalt the Spanish name above that of every other nation. Thus he prevailed with them to accompany their admiral for some time longer.

As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land seemed to be more certain. The birds began to appear in flocks, making to the south-west: to the same point Columbus directed the course of his fleet. The hopes of his men were, for a time, greatly elevated; but at the end of thirty days, no object having been descried but sea and sky, their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair, appeared in every countenance. All sense of subordination was lost: the officers took part with the private men, and they unanimously required their commander instantly to tack about and return to Europe. Finding the methods which he had before adopted of no avail, he promised solemnly to his men that he would comply with their request, provided they would accompany him and obey his commands for three days longer; and if, during that time, land was not discovered, he would then abandon his enterprise, and direct his course to Spain.

Enraged as the sailors were, yet they consented to this proposition, which did not to them appear unreasonable. Nor did Columbus hazard much in confining himself to a term so short. The presages of discovering land were now so numerous and promising, that he deemed them infallible: and

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on the 11th of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie-to, keeping strict watch lest they should be driven ashore in the night. During this interval of suspense and expectation no man shut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land, which had been so long the object of their wishes.

About ten o'clock in the evening Columbus, standing on the forecastle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Guttierez, a page of the queen's wardrobe. Guttierez perceived it, and calling out to the comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it in motion, as if it were carried from place to place. A little after midnight the joyful sound of *Land*, *Land*, was heard from the *Pinta*, which kept always a-head of the other ships. They all waited in the anguish of uncertainty and impatience for the return of day. As soon as morning dawned all doubts and fears were dispelled. From every ship an island was seen about two leagues to the north, whose verdant fields, well stored with wood, and watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the *Pinta* instantly began *Te Deum*, and were joined by those of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. This office of gratitude to heaven was followed by an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their past conduct; and reverting in the frenzy of their admiration from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man whom they had so lately re-

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vilied and threatened, to be a person inspired by heaven with sagacity and fortitude more than human, in order to accomplish a design so far beyond the ideas and conception of former ages.

As soon as the sun arose they rowed towards the island, with colours displayed, warlike music, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the strange objects which presented themselves to their view. Columbus was the first European who set foot on the new world which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress, and with a naked sword in his hand. His men followed, and kneeling down they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such a happy issue. They then took solemn possession of the country for the crown of Castile and Leon.

The Spaniards, while thus employed, were surrounded by many of the natives, who gazed in silent admiration upon actions which they could not comprehend, and of which they could not foresee the consequence. The dress of the Spaniards, the whiteness of their skin, their beards, their arms, appeared strange and surprising. The vast machines in which they had traversed the ocean, that seemed to move upon the waters with wings, and uttered a dreadful sound, resembling thunder accompanied with lightning and smoke, struck them with such terror, that they began to respect their new guests as a superior order of beings, and concluded that they were children of the Sun, who had descended to visit the earth.

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The Europeans were scarcely less amazed at the scene now before them. Every herb, and shrub, and tree, was different from those which flourished in Europe. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses around their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their body was perfectly smooth. Their complexion was of a dusky copper colour, their features singular rather than disagreeable, their aspect gentle and timid. Their faces, and several parts of their body, were fantastically painted with glaring colours. They were shy at first through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards, and with transports of joy received from them glass beads and other baubles, in return for which they gave them such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value that they could produce. Towards evening Columbus returned to his ships, accompanied by many islanders in their canoes, which, though rudely formed out of the trunk of a tree, they rowed with surprising dexterity. Thus, in the first interview between the inhabitants of the *old* and *new* worlds, every thing was conducted amicably, and to their mutual satisfaction. The one, enlightened and ambitious, forming already vast ideas with respect to the advantages which they might derive from the regions that began to open to their view. The other, simple and undiscerning, had no foresight of the calamities and desolation which were approaching their country.

Columbus, who now assumed the title and authority of admiral and viceroy, called the island which he had discovered *San Salvador*. It is bet-

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ter known by the name *Guanahani*, which the natives gave it, and is one of that large cluster of islands called the Lucaya or Bahama isles. It is situated more than 3000 miles west of Gomera, from which the squadron took its departure, and only four degrees south of it: so little had Columbus deviated from the westerly course which he had fixed on as the most proper.

The next day Columbus employed in visiting the coasts of the island; and, from the universal poverty of the inhabitants, he perceived that this was not that rich country for which he was looking. He therefore concluded, that San Salvador was one of the isles which geographers described as situated in the great ocean adjacent to India. Having observed that most of the people whom he had seen wore small plates of gold by way of ornament, in their nostrils, he eagerly inquired where they got that precious metal. They pointed towards the south: thither he immediately directed his course. He saw several islands, and touched at three of the largest, on which he bestowed the names of St. Mary of the Conception, Ferdinanda, and Isabella. He inquired every where for gold; and the signs that were uniformly made, by way of answer, confirmed him in the opinion that it was brought from the south. He followed that course, and soon discovered a large island, which the natives of San Salvador called *Cuba*. Here the people, who were all naked, seemed to be more intelligent than those of San Salvador: they treated the Europeans with the same respectful attention, kissed their feet, and honoured them as sacred beings allied to heaven.

Columbus visited almost every harbour on the north coast of the island; but, though delighted

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with the beauty of the scenes which every where presented themselves, he did not find gold in such quantity as was sufficient to satisfy either the avarice of his followers, or the expectations of the court to which he was to return. The people of the country, as much astonished at his eagerness in quest of gold, as the Europeans were at their ignorance and simplicity, pointed towards the east, where an island, which they called Hayti, was situated, in which that metal was more abundant than among them.

Retarded by contrary winds, Columbus did not reach Hayti till the 6th of December. He called the port where he first touched St. Nicholas, and the island Hispaniola, in honour of the kingdom by which he was employed. Here the people possessed gold in greater abundance than their neighbours, which they readily exchanged for bells, beads, or pins; and in this unequal traffic both parties were highly pleased, each considering themselves as gainers by the transaction. Columbus was visited by a prince or *cazique* of the country, who appeared with all the pomp known among a simple people, being carried on a sort of palanquin upon the shoulders of four men, and attended by many of his subjects, who served him with great respect. His deportment was grave and stately, he gave the admiral some thin plates of gold, and a girdle of curious workmanship, receiving in return presents of small value.

Columbus, still intent on discovering the gold mines, continued to interrogate all the natives with whom he had any intercourse concerning their situation, and in full expectation of reaching soon those regions which had been the object of his voyage, he directed his course towards the east. He put into a

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commodious harbour, which he called St. Thomas, and found that district to be under the government of a powerful cazique, named Guacanahari, who, as he afterwards learned, was one of the five sovereigns among whom the whole island was divided. He immediately sent messengers to Columbus, who, in his name, delivered to him the present of a mask, curiously fashioned with ears, nose, and mouth, of beaten gold, and invited him to the place of his residence, near the harbour now called Cape François. Columbus dispatched some officers to visit this prince, who, as he behaved himself with greater dignity, seemed to claim attention. They returned with such favourable accounts both of the country and of the people, as made Columbus impatient for that interview with the prince to which he had been invited.

He sailed for this purpose from St. Thomas's on the 24th of December: his ship, through the carelessness of the pilot, struck on a rock, and was lost; but by the timely assistance of boats from the other vessels the crew were all saved. As soon as the islanders heard of their disaster, they crowded to the shore, with their prince at their head, and afforded them all the assistance in their power; by which means every thing of value was carried ashore.

Columbus was now left with a single vessel: he felt the difficulty of taking all his men on board, and resolved to leave a part of his crew in the island, that, by residing there, they might learn the language of the natives, study their disposition, examine the nature of the country, search for mines, prepare for the commodious settlement of the colony with which he proposed to return, and thus secure and facilitate the acquisition of

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those advantages which he expected from his discoveries. His men approved the design, and nothing was wanting but the consent of Guacanahari.

Having taken every precaution for the security of the colony, and obtained the full consent of the prince for his men to reside there, he left the island on the 4th of January, and on the 6th he discovered the Pinta, the vessel from which he had been separated more than six weeks. Pinzon, the captain, endeavoured to justify his conduct, by pretending that he had been driven from his course by stress of weather, and prevented from returning by contrary winds. The admiral, without farther inquiries, felt great satisfaction in this junction with his consort, which delivered him from many disquieting apprehensions, and restored Pinzon to his favour. A. D. 1493.

Columbus found it necessary, from the condition of his ships, as well as from the temper of his men, to hasten his return to Europe. The voyage was prosperous to the 14th of February, and he had advanced near 500 leagues across the Atlantic Ocean, when a storm arose, which seemed to bring in its train inevitable destruction. The sailors, at first, had recourse to prayers, to the invocation of saints, to vows and charms; but when no prospect of deliverance appeared, they abandoned themselves to despair. Columbus had to endure feelings of distress peculiar to himself. He dreaded that all the knowledge of his amazing discoveries was now to perish, and that his name would descend to posterity as that of a rash deluded adventurer, instead of being transmitted with the honour due to the author and conductor of the most noble enterprise that had ever been undertaken. These

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reflections extinguished all sense of personal danger. Less affected with the loss of life than solicitous to preserve the memory of what he had attempted and achieved, he retired to his cabin, and wrote upon parchment a short account of the voyage which he had made, of the course which he had taken, of the situation and riches of the countries which he had discovered, and of the colony that he had left there. Having wrapped up this in an oiled cloth, which he enclosed in a cake of wax, he put it into a cask carefully stopped up, and threw it into the sea, in hopes that some fortunate accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world.

At length Providence interposed to save a life reserved for other services; the wind abated, the sea became calm, and on the evening of the 15th, Columbus and his companions discovered land, which proved to be St. Mary, one of the Azores, subject to the crown of Portugal. There Columbus obtained a supply of provisions, and whatever else he needed. The Pinta he had lost sight of in the storm, and he dreaded for some time that she had foundered at sea; he then became apprehensive that Pinzon had borne away for Spain, that he might reach it before him, and by giving the first account of his discoveries, obtain some share in his fame.

In order to prevent this, he left the Azores as soon as the weather would permit. When he was almost in sight of Spain, and seemingly beyond the reach of disaster, another storm arose, little inferior to the former in violence; and after driving before it during two days and two nights, he was forced to take shelter in the river Tagus. He was

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allowed to come up to Lisbon, where he was received by the king of Portugal with the highest respect. He listened to the account which he gave of his voyage, with admiration mingled with regret; while Columbus, on his part, enjoyed the satisfaction of describing the importance of his discoveries, and of being able now to prove the solidity of his schemes, to those very persons who had lately rejected them as the projects of a visionary or designing adventurer.

In five days Columbus set sail for Spain, and on the 15th of March he arrived in the port of Palos, seven months and eleven days from the time when he set out thence upon his voyage. As soon as his ship was discovered approaching the port, all the inhabitants of Palos ran eagerly to the shore, in order to welcome their relations and fellow-citizens, and to hear the tidings of their voyage. When the prosperous issue of it was known, when they beheld the strange people, the unknown animals, and singular productions brought from the countries which had been discovered, the effusion of joy was general and unbounded. The bells were rung, the cannon fired; Columbus was received at landing with royal honours; and all the people, in solemn procession, accompanied him and his crew to the church, where they returned thanks to heaven, which had so wonderfully conducted, and crowned with success, a voyage of greater length and of more importance, than had been attempted in any former age. On the evening of the same day he had the satisfaction of seeing the Pinta enter the harbour.

The first care of Columbus was to inform the king and queen of his arrival and success. Ferdi-

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nand and Isabella, no less astonished than delighted with this unexpected event, desired Columbus to repair immediately to court, that from his own mouth they might receive a full detail of his extraordinary services and discoveries. During his journey, the people crowded from the adjacent country, following him every where with admiration and applause. His entrance into the city was conducted with pomp suitable to the great event, which added such distinguishing lustre to their reign. The people whom he brought with him from the countries which he had discovered, marched first, and by their singular complexion, the wild peculiarity of their features, and uncouth finery, appeared like men of another species. Next to them were carried the ornaments of gold, fashioned by the rude art of the natives. After these appeared the various commodities of the newly-discovered countries, together with their curious productions. Columbus himself closed the procession, and attracted the eyes of all the spectators, who gazed with admiration on the extraordinary man, whose superior sagacity and fortitude had conducted their countrymen, by a route concealed from past ages, to the knowledge of a New World. Ferdinand and Isabella received him clad in their royal robes, and seated upon a throne under a magnificent canopy; and when the admiral had finished his narration, they kneeled down and offered up solemn thanks to Almighty God, for the discovery of those new regions, from which they expected so many advantages to flow in upon the kingdoms subject to their government. Every mark of honour, that gratitude or admiration could suggest, was conferred upon Columbus. Letters

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patent were issued, confirming to him and to his heirs many important privileges; his family were ennobled, and himself treated with all that respect which was paid to persons of the highest rank. But what pleased him most, was an order to equip, without delay, an armament of such force as might enable him not only to take possession of the countries which he had already discovered, but to go in search of those more opulent regions which he still expected to find.

While preparations were making for this expedition, the fame of Columbus's voyage spread over Europe, and excited general attention. Men of science, capable of comprehending the nature and of discerning the effects of this great discovery, received the account of it with admiration and joy. They spoke of his voyage with rapture, and congratulated one another upon the felicity, in having lived in the period when, by this extraordinary event, the boundaries of human knowledge were so much extended, and such a new field of inquiry and observation opened, as would lead mankind to a perfect acquaintance with the structure and productions of the habitable globe. Various opinions and conjectures were formed concerning the new countries, and to what division of the earth they belonged. Columbus had no doubt that they should be reckoned a part of those vast regions of Asia comprehended under the general name of India; in consequence of which, the name of Indies was given them by the king and queen: and even after the error was detected, and the true position of the new world was ascertained, the name has remained; and the appellation of West-Indies is given by all the people of

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Europe to the country, and that of Indians to its inhabitants.

The name by which the countries were distinguished was so inviting, the specimens of their riches and fertility so considerable, that volunteers of every rank solicited to be employed in the new expedition. The fleet consisted of 17 ships, which had on board 1500 persons, among whom were many of noble families who had served in honourable stations. The greater part of these, being destined to remain in the country, were furnished with every requisite for conquest or settlement, and with such artificers as might be most useful in an infant colony.

But, formidable as this fleet was, Ferdinand and Isabella did not rest their title to the possession of the newly-discovered countries upon its operations alone. They applied to the Pope for a right to those territories which they wished to occupy; who granted them all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered, or should discover; and in virtue of that power, which he pretended to derive from Christ, he conferred on the crown of Castile vast regions, to the possession of which he himself was so far from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their situation, and ignorant even of their existence. To prevent this grant from interfering with one formerly made to the crown of Purtugal, he decreed that a line, supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues westward of the Azores, should serve as the limit between them; and in the plenitude of his power, bestowed all to the east of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the west of it, upon the Spaniards.

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Ferdinand and Isabella having thus acquired a title, which was, at that period, deemed completely valid, to extend their dominion over such a considerable portion of the globe, nothing now retarded the departure of the fleet. Columbus set sail from the bay of Cadiz on the 25th of September. On the twenty-sixth day after his departure he made land. It was one of the Caribbee or Leeward islands, to which he gave the name of Deseada. After this, he visited successively Dominica, Marigalante, Gaudaloupe, Antigua, Porto Rico, and several other islands. On these the Spaniards never attempted to land without meeting with such a reception as discovered the martial spirit of the natives; and in their habitations were found relics of those horrid feasts which they had made upon the bodies of their enemies taken in war.

Columbus proceeded as soon as possible to Hispaniola, where he arrived on the 22d of November. When he reached Novidad, the station in which he had left a few months before thirty-eight men, he was astonished that none of them appeared. Full of solicitude about their safety, he rowed instantly to land. All the natives, from whom he might have received information, had fled. But the fort which he had built was entirely demolished; and the tattered garments, the broken arms and utensils, scattered about, left no room to doubt concerning the unhappy fate of the garrison. While the Spaniards were shedding tears over those sad memorials of their fellow-citizens, a brother of the cazique Guacanahari arrived. From him Columbus learned that as soon as the restraint, which his presence imposed, was withdrawn, the garrison threw off all

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regard for the officer whom he had invested with command, and gratified their desires without control. The gold, the women, the provisions of the natives, were all the prey of those licentious oppressors. They roamed in small parties over the island, extending their rapacity and insolence to every corner of it. Gentle as these people were, those unprovoked injuries at length exhausted their patience, and roused their courage. The cazique of Cibao surprised and cut off several of them while they straggled in security. He then assembled his subjects, and, surrounding the fort, set it on fire. Some of the Spaniards were killed in defending it; the rest perished in attempting to make their escape by crossing an arm of the sea.

Instead of attempting to revenge the death of his countrymen, Columbus traced out the plan of a town, in a large plain near a spacious bay; and obliging every person to put his hand to a work on which their common safety depended, the houses and ramparts were soon so far advanced, by their united labour, as to afford them shelter and security. This rising city he named Isabella, in honour of his patroness the queen of Castile.

In carrying on the necessary work, Columbus had to contend with the laziness, the impatience, and mutinous disposition of his followers. Many of them were gentlemen, unaccustomed to the fatigue of bodily labour, and all had engaged in the enterprise with the sanguine hopes of becoming suddenly rich. But, when, instead of that golden harvest which they had expected to reap without toil or pains, the Spaniards saw that their prospect of wealth was remote as well as uncertain, and that it could only be attained by the slow and per-

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severing efforts of industry, the disappointment of those chimerical hopes occasioned such dejection of mind as led to general discontent. The spirit of disaffection spread, and a conspiracy was formed which might have been fatal to Columbus and the colony. Happily he discovered it, and seizing the ringleaders, punished some of them, and sent others prisoners into Spain, whither he dispatched twelve of the ships which had served as transports, with an earnest request for a reinforcement of men and a large supply of provisions. In the mean time Columbus planned several expeditions into the country, in which he displayed all the military magnificence that he could exhibit, in order to strike the imagination of the natives. He marched with colours flying, with martial music, and with a small body of cavalry, that paraded sometimes in the front and sometimes in the rear. As these were the first horses which had appeared in the New World, they were objects of terror no less than admiration to the Indians, who having no tame animals themselves, were unacquainted with that vast accession of power which man hath acquired by subjecting them to his dominion. They supposed them rational creatures. They imagined that the horse and the rider formed one animal, with whose speed they were astonished, and whose impetuosity and strength they considered as irresistible. But while Columbus endeavoured to inspire the natives with a dread of his power, he did not neglect the arts of gaining their love and confidence. He adhered scrupulously to the principles of integrity and justice in all his transactions, and treated them on every occasion with humanity and kindness. The district of Cibao, into

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which he had sent one expedition, was mountainous and uncultivated, but in every river and brook gold was gathered either in dust or in grains. From these indications the Spaniards could no longer doubt that the country contained rich treasures in its bowels, of which they hoped soon to be the masters. To secure the command of this valuable province Columbus erected a fort, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, by way of ridicule upon some of his incredulous followers, who would not believe that the country produced gold till they saw it with their own eyes, and touched it with their own hands.

As soon as he saw it prudent to leave the island, Columbus resolved to pursue his discoveries, that he might be able to ascertain whether those new countries with which he had opened a communication were connected with any region of the earth already known, or whether they were to be considered as a separate portion of the globe, hitherto unvisited. Having appointed his brother Don Diego, with a council of officers, to govern the island in his absence, and given all necessary instructions, he weighed anchor on the 24th of April with one ship and two small barks under his command. During a tedious voyage of full five months, he made no discovery of importance, except the island of Jamaica. As he ranged along the southern coast of Cuba, he was entangled in a labyrinth formed by an incredible number of small islands, to which he gave the name of the Queen's Garden. In this unknown course he was retarded by contrary winds, assaulted with furious storms, and alarmed with terrible thunder and lightning, which are often almost incessant between the tropics. At length his provisions fell short, and his crew was

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ready to proceed to the most desperate extremities against him. Beset with danger in such various forms, he was obliged to keep continual watch, to observe every occurrence with his own eyes, to issue every order, and to superintend the execution of it. This unremitting fatigue of body, and intense application of mind, overpowering his constitution, though naturally vigorous and robust, had nearly been fatal to his life.

But on his return to Hispaniola, the sudden emotion of joy which he felt upon meeting with his brother Bartholomew at Isabella contributed greatly to his recovery. It was now thirteen years since the two brothers, whom similarity of talents united in close friendship, had separated from each other, and during that long period there had been no intercourse between them. Bartholomew could not have arrived at any juncture when Columbus stood more in need of a friend capable of assisting him with his counsels, or of dividing with him the cares and burthen of government. No sooner had Columbus set out on the voyage of discovery, than the soldiers whom he had left behind, instead of conforming to the prudent instructions which he had given, dispersed in straggling parties over the island, lived at discretion upon the natives, wasted their provisions, seized the women, and treated that inoffensive race with all the insolence of military oppression.

Self-preservation prompted the Indians to wish for the departure of guests who wasted their provisions, and in other respects violated the rights of hospitality. They had long expected that the Spaniards would retire of their own accord; but when they saw no chance of this, they resolved to attack them with united force, and drive them from the

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settlements of which they had taken possession. Some of the caziques had already surprised and cut off several stragglers. The dread of impending danger united the Spaniards, and re-established the authority of Columbus, as they saw no prospect of safety but in committing themselves to his prudent guidance. It was now necessary to have recourse to arms, which had hitherto been avoided with the greatest solicitude. The Spaniards were very much reduced, and the whole body which took the field consisted only of 200 foot, 20 horse, and 20 large dogs; and how strange soever it may seem to mention the last as composing part of a military force, they were not the least formidable and destructive of the whole, when employed against naked and timid Indians. The Indians assembled; and instead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the fastnesses of the woods and mountains, they took their station in the most open plain in the country. Columbus perceived their error, and attacked them during the night, when undisciplined troops are least capable of acting with union and concert, and obtained an easy and bloodless victory. The consternation with which the Indians were filled by the noise and havoc made by the fire-arms, by the impetuous force of the cavalry, and the fierce onset of the dogs, was so great that they threw down their weapons, and fled without attempting resistance. Many were slain, more were taken prisoners, and reduced to servitude; and so completely were the rest intimidated, that from that moment they abandoned themselves to despair, relinquishing all thoughts of contending with aggressors whom they deemed invincible.

Columbus employed several months in marching through the island, and in subjecting it to the

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Spanish government, without meeting with any opposition. He imposed a tribute upon all the inhabitants above the age of fourteen. Each person who lived in those districts where gold was found, was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold dust as filled a hawk's bell; from those in other parts of the country twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. This was the first regular taxation of the Indians, and served as a precedent for exactions more intolerable. The labour, attention, and foresight which they were obliged to employ in procuring this tribute, appeared to them most distressing. They were through long habit incapable of such regular and persevering industry, and, in the excess of their impatience and despair, they formed a scheme of starving their oppressors. With this view they suspended all operations of agriculture, pulled up the roots of the casada plant, and, retiring to the mountains, left the uncultivated plains to their enemies. This desperate resolution produced in some degree the effects which they expected. The Spaniards were reduced to extreme want; but they received seasonable supplies of provisions from Europe, and found so many resources in their own ingenuity and industry, that they suffered no great loss of men. The wretched Indians were the victims of their own ill-concerted policy; they soon felt the utmost distresses of famine. This brought on contagious diseases; and in the course of a few months more than a third part of the inhabitants of the island perished, after experiencing misery in all its various forms.

But while Columbus was establishing the foundations of the Spanish grandeur in the New World, his enemies at home laboured with unwearied assiduity to deprive him of the glory and rewards

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which by his services and sufferings, he was entitled to enjoy: he took therefore the resolution of returning to Spain, in order to lay before his sovereign a full account of all his transactions. He committed the administration of affairs to Bartholomew, his brother, and appointed Francis Roldan chief justice, with extensive powers.

A. D. 1496. Columbus, after experincing great difficulties, arrived in Spain, and appeared at court with the modest but determined confidence of a man conscious not only of his own integrity, but of having performed great services. Ferdinand and Isabella, who in his absence had lent a too favourable ear to frivolous accusations, received him with such distinguished marks of respect as covered his enemies with shame. The gold, the pearls, the cotton, and other commodities of value which Columbus produced, seemed fully to refute what the malcontents had propagated with respect to the poverty of the country. By reducing the Indians to obedience, and imposing on them a regular tax, he had secured a large accession of new subjects, and the establishment of a revenue that promised to be considerable. By the mines which he had found, a source of wealth still more copious was opened. Great as these advantages were, the admiral represented them only as preludes to future acquisitions, and as the earnest of more important discoveries, to which those he had already made would conduct him with ease and certainty.

Every preparation that Columbus required was now made for a new expedition. A suitable number of women was to be chosen to accompany the new settlers; and it was agreed that persons convicted of certain crimes should hereafter be con-

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demned to work in the mines which were to be opened in the New World. Though the royal approbation was obtained to every measure and regulation that Columbus proposed, yet his endeavours to carry them into execution were long retarded, and almost two years were spent before a small squadron was equipped, of which he was to take the command. This squadron consisted of only six ships, but indifferently provided for a long and dangerous navigation. He set sail May the 30th, and no remarkable occurrence happened till they arrived within five degrees of the line, which was on the 19th of July. A. D. 1498.

There they were becalmed; and the heat being so excessive, many of their casks burst, the liquor in others soured, and their provisions became corrupted. The Spaniards now were afraid that the ships would take fire; but their fears were relieved by a seasonable and very heavy fall of rain. On the first of August they discovered the island of Trinidad, which lies on the coast of Guiana, near the mouth of the Oronoco. In this river, which rolls towards the ocean with impetuous force, Columbus was entangled before he was aware. With the utmost difficulty he escaped through a narrow strait; and as soon as the consternation which this occasioned subsided, he discerned in it a source of comfort and hope. He concluded, that such a vast body of water, as this river contained, could not be supplied by an island, and consequently that he was now arrived at that continent which it had long been the object of his wishes to discover. He landed, and found the people resemble those of Hispaniola in their appearance and manner of life. They wore, as ornaments, small plates of gold, and pearls of considerable

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value. The admiral was so delighted with the beauty and fertility of the country, that he imagined it to be the Paradise described in scripture. Thus Columbus had the glory not only of discovering to mankind the existence of a new world, but made considerable progress to a perfect knowledge of it; and was the first man who conducted the Spaniards to that vast continent which has been the chief seat of their empire, and the source of their treasures in this quarter of the globe. The condition of his ships made it necessary for him to bear away for Hispaniola, and in his way thither he discovered the islands of Cubugua and Margarita, which afterwards became remarkable for their pearl fishery.

During his absence, Columbus found that many revolutions had happened at Hispaniola; and on his arrival the colony was in a very distracted state, owing to the rebellion of Roldan, whom he had left as chief justice. By a seasonable proclamation, offering free pardon to such as should return to their duty, he restored the appearance of order, regular government, and tranquillity.

It was at this period that the Portuguese, excited by what had been done by Columbus, undertook a voyage, with a view of finding a passage to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. The command of this expedition was given to Vasco de Gama, who set sail from Lisbon on the 9th of July, reached the Cape on the 20th of November, and arrived at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, on the 22d of May following. As, however, he did not possess sufficient force to attempt a settlement, he hastened back to Portugal, with an account of his success, in performing a voyage, the longest as well as the

A. D. 1497.

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most difficult that had ever been attempted since the invention of navigation. He landed at Lisbon on the 14th of September, after an absence of two years two months and five days.

This spirit of enterprise, though but newly awakened in Spain, began soon to operate extensively. All attempts towards discovery made in that kingdom had hitherto been made by Columbus alone, and at the expense of the sovereign. But now private adventurers, allured by the descriptions he gave of the regions which he had visited, offered to fit out squadrons at their own risk, and to go in quest of new countries. The Spanish court seized with joy an opportunity of rendering the efforts of projectors instrumental in promoting designs of certain advantage to the public, though of doubtful success with respect to themselves. One of the first propositions of this kind was made by Alonso de Ojeda, a gallant officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, accompanied him in his voyage. In what station he served is uncertain; but soon after his return he transmitted an account of his adventures and discoveries to one of his countrymen, in which he had the address so to frame his narrative, as to make it appear that he had the glory of having first discovered the continent in the New World. Amerigo's account was drawn up with elegance; it contained an amusing history of his voyage; and as it was the first description that was published, it circulated with rapidity, and was read with admiration. The country of which Amerigo was supposed to be the discoverer, came gradually to be called by his name. The caprice of mankind has perpetuated the error. By the universal consent

A. D. 1499.

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of all nations, AMERICA is the name bestowed on this new quarter of the globe. The bold pretensions of the fortunate impostor have robbed the discoverer of the New World of a distinction which belonged to him. The name of Amerigo has supplanted that of Columbus; and mankind may regret an act of injustice which having received the sanction of time, it is now too late to redress.

While the Spaniards and Portuguese, by successive voyages, were daily acquiring more enlarged ideas of the extent and opulence of that part of the globe which Columbus had made known to them, he himself was struggling with every distress in which the envy and malevolence of the people under his command, or the ingratitude of the court that he served, could involve him. A commission was at length appointed to repair to Hispaniola to inquire into the conduct of Columbus. By such a court it was impossible that this great man should escape. He underwent a mock trial, was condemned, and sent home loaded with chains. Conscious of his own integrity, he endured the insult with composure and dignity. The voyage to Spain was extremely short. When he entered the royal presence, Columbus threw himself at the feet of his sovereigns. For some time he remained silent; the various passions that agitated his mind suppressing his power of utterance. At length he recovered himself, and vindicated his conduct in a long discourse, producing satisfactory proofs of his own integrity and honour. Ferdinand received him with decent civility, and Isabella with tenderness and respect. They both expressed their sorrow for what had happened, disavowed their knowledge of it, and joined in promising him protection and future favour. But

A. D. 1500.

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though they disgraced his accuser and judge, yet they did not restore Columbus his jurisdiction and privileges as viceroy of those countries which he had discovered. They were afraid to trust a man to whom they had been so highly indebted; and retaining him at court under various pretexts, they appointed Nicholas de Ovando governor of Hispaniola. Columbus was deeply affected with this new injury, and could no longer conceal the sentiments which it excited. Wherever he went he carried about with him, as a memorial of the ingratitude which he experienced, those fetters with which he had been loaded. They were constantly hung up in his chamber, and he gave orders that when he died they should be buried in his grave.

Notwithstanding the treatment which Columbus had experienced, still the spirit of discovery was not abated; several private persons fitted out ships for this purpose: and in order to limit exorbitant gain which individuals were supposed to make by working the mines, an ordinance was published, directing all the gold to be brought to a public smelting-house, and declaring one-half of it to be the property of the crown.

While these steps were taking for securing to the government the advantages to be gained from the discovery of the New World, Columbus demanded, in terms of the original capitulation, to be reinstated in his office of viceroy over the countries which he had found out. The circumstance, however, which he urged in support of his claim, determined a jealous monarch to reject it. The greatness of his discoveries, and the prospect of their increasing value, made Ferdinand consider the concessions in the capitulation as extravagant and im- A. D. 1502.

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politic. He inspired Isabella with the same views; they eluded all Columbus's requisitions; and after attending the court of Spain for nearly two years, as an humble suitor, he found it impossible to obtain justice from an interested and unfeeling prince. Soon after he applied for ships and men, in order that he might attempt a discovery of the East-Indies by a new passage. This was a favourite project of the Spaniards; Ferdinand warmly approved the undertaking, but would allow him only four vessels, the largest of which did not exceed 70 tons burthen. He sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May; but finding his largest vessel clumsy and unfit for service, he bore away for Hispaniola, in hopes of exchanging her for some other that had carried out his successor. When he arrived off St. Domingo, he found eighteen ships ready loaded and on the point of departing for Spain. Columbus acquainted the governor with the destination of his voyage, and the accident which had obliged him to alter his route. He requested permission to enter the harbour, not only that he might negociate the exchange of his ship, but that he might take shelter during a violent hurricane, of which he discerned the approach by various prognostics. On that account he advised him likewise to put off for some days the departure of the fleet bound for Spain. But Ovando refused his request, and despised his counsel. Thus was Columbus denied admittance into a country of which he had discovered the existence and acquired the possession. His salutary warning was regarded as the dream of a visionary prophet, who arrogantly pretended to predict an event beyond the reach of human foresight. The fleet

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set sail for Spain. Next night the hurricane came on with dreadful impetuosity. Columbus, fully apprised of the danger, took precautions against it, and saved his little squadron. The fleet destined for Spain met with the fate which the rashness and obstinacy of its commanders deserved. Of eighteen ships, two or three only survived. In this general wreck perished the greater part of those who had been the most active in persecuting Columbus and oppressing the Indians; and together with themselves, all the wealth which they had acquired by their injustice and cruelty. It exceeded in value fifty thousand pounds; an immense sum at that period, and sufficient not only to have screened them from any severe scrutiny into their conduct, but to have secured them a gracious reception in the Spanish court. Among the ships that escaped, one had on board all the effects of Columbus, which had been recovered from the ruins of his fortune. Thus did Providence avenge the wrongs of an innocent man, and punish the oppressors of an innocent people. Many of the ignorant and superstitious, on this occasion, believed that Columbus was possessed of supernatural powers, and imagined that he had conjured up this dreadful storm by magic, in order to be avenged of his enemies.

Columbus soon left Hispaniola; and after a tedious voyage he discovered Guanaia, an island not far distant from the coast of Honduras. He then bore away for the east, towards the Gulf of Darien, and explored all the coast of the continent from Cape Gracias a Dios to a harbour which, on account of its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. Here he resolved to plant a small

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colony, under the command of his brother. But the ungovernable spirit of the people under his command deprived Columbus of the glory of planting the first colony on the continent of America. Their insolence and rapacity provoked the natives to take arms against them. This repulse was followed by a series of other disasters. One of his ships perished; he was obliged to abandon another; and with the two that remained he again bore away for Hispaniola: but it was with the utmost difficulty they reached Jamaica, where he was obliged to run them aground to prevent them from sinking. The measure of his calamities seemed now to be full: his ships were ruined beyond the possibility of repair, and, of course, he had no means of making his situation known to his countrymen at Hispaniola. At length he obtained two canoes from the natives, and Mendez a Spaniard, and Fieschi a Genoese, offered to set out for that island, upon a voyage of above thirty leagues. This they accomplished in ten days, after surmounting incredible dangers, and enduring such fatigue, that several of the Indians who accompanied them sunk under it and died. Eight months did these gallant men spend in seeking assistance from the Spanish commander in vain. The situation of Columbus was now the most alarming: his men mutinied, and threatened him, as the cause of their misfortunes, with death: the natives brought them in provisions with reluctance, and menaced to withdraw those supplies altogether. Such a resolution must have been quickly fatal to the Spaniards. Their safety depended upon the good-will of the Indians; and unless they could revive the admiration and reverence with which that simple people had at first beheld them, destruction was unavoidable. Co-

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lumbus, by a happy artifice, not only restored but heightened the high opinion which the Indians had originally entertained of them. By his skill in astronomy he knew there was shortly to be a total eclipse of the moon. He assembled all the principal people of the district around him on the day before it happened; and, after reproaching them for their fickleness in withdrawing their affection and assistance from men whom they had lately revered, he told them that the Spaniards were servants of the Great Spirit who dwells in heaven, who made and governs the world; that he, offended at their refusing to support persons who were the objects of his peculiar care, was preparing to punish this crime with exemplary severity, and that very night the moon should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a sign of divine wrath and of the vengeance ready to fall on them. To this prediction some had listened with carelessness; others with credulous astonishment. But when the moon began gradually to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red colour, all were struck with terror. They ran with consternation to their houses, and, returning instantly to Columbus, loaded with provisions, threw them at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the Great Spirit to avert the destruction with which they were threatened. Columbus promised to comply with their desire; the eclipse went off, the moon recovered its splendour; and from that day the Spaniards were not only furnished profusely with provisions, but the natives with superstitious attention avoided every thing that could give them offence.

During these transactions the mutineers had made many fruitless attempts to pass over to His-

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paniola in the canoes which they had seized. At length they appeared in open rebellion against their commander. His brother marched against them, killed some, and took their captain prisoner. The rest submitted, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to obey all the commands of Columbus. Hardly was tranquillity re-established when ships appeared from Hispaniola to convey them thither, after having been exposed to all kinds of misery for more than a year.

A. D. 1504. Soon after his arrival he made preparations to sail for Europe. Disasters similar to those which had accompanied him through life, continued to pursue him to the end of his career. At length, however, he reached with difficulty the port of St. Lucar, in Andalusia. There he received the account of the death of Isabella, in whose justice, humanity, and regard, he confided as his last resource. None now remained to redress his wrongs, or to reward his services. To Ferdinand he applied for remuneration; but from him he obtained nought but fair words and unmeaning promises. Disgusted with the ingratitude of a monarch whom he had served with fidelity and success, exhausted with the fatigues and hardships which he had endured, and broken with the infirmities which these had brought upon him, Columbus ended his

A. D. 1506. life on the 20th of May, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He died with a composure of mind suitable to the magnanimity which had ever distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion which he manifested in every occurrence of his life.

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CHAP. II.

State of the Colony in Hispaniola. Policy of the Court of Spain. Attempts made by the Indians to regain their Liberty. Cruelty of the Spaniards. Ovando's wise Conduct. Cuba found to be an island. Don Diego Columbus lays claim to and obtains his Rights. Attempts to colonize America. The Reception which the Spaniards met with. Settle on the Gulf of Darien. Conquest of Cuba. Conduct and cruel Death of Hatuey. Discovery of Florida. Of the South Sea. Great Expectations formed of it. Noble Conduct and shameful Death of Balboa. Missionaries sent out. Their Zeal. Dominicans and Franciscans take different Sides. Conduct of Las Casas. Negroes imported. Origin of the African Slave Trade. Las Casas's Idea of a new Colony. Attempted. Unsuccessful. Discoveries towards the West. Yucatan. Reception given to the Spaniards there. Campeachy. Preparations for invading New Spain.

WHILE Columbus was employed in his last voyage, the colony in Hispaniola gradually acquired the form of a regular and prosperous society. Isabella had prohibited the Spaniards from compelling the Indians to work against their will. This retarded for a time the progress of improvement. The Spaniards had not a sufficient number of hands either to work the mines or cultivate the soil. Several of the first colonists, who had been accustomed to the service of the Indians, quitted the island when deprived of those instru-

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ments, without which they knew not how to carry on any operation. Many of the new settlers who came over with Ovando, Columbus's successor, shortly died of distempers peculiar to the climate. At the same time, the exacting one half of the product of the mines, as the royal share, was found to be a demand so exorbitant, that no adventurers would engage to work them upon such terms. In order to save the colony from ruin, Ovando ventured to relax the rigour of the royal edicts. He made a new distribution of the Indians among the Spaniards, and compelled them to labour, for a stated time, in digging the mines, or in cultivating the ground. He reduced the royal share of the gold found in the mines from the half to the third part, and soon after lowered it to a fifth; at which it long remained.

A. D. 1505.

The Indians felt the yoke of bondage to be so galling, that they made many attempts to vindicate their liberty. This the Spaniards considered as rebellion, and took arms in order to reduce them to subjection. They considered them not as men fighting in defence of their rights, but as slaves who had revolted against their masters. Their caziques, when taken, were condemned, like the leaders of banditti, to the most cruel and ignominious punishments. Overawed and humbled by the atrocious treatment of their princes and nobles, who were objects of their highest reverence, the people in all the provinces of Hispaniola submitted, without further resistance, to the Spanish yoke. Upon the death of Isabella, all the regulations tending to mitigate the rigour of their servitude were forgotten. Ovando, without any re-

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straint, distributed Indians among his friends in the island. Ferdinand, to whom the queen had left by will one half of the revenue arising from the settlements in the New World, conferred grants of a similar nature upon his courtiers, as the least expensive mode of rewarding their services. They farmed out the Indians, of whom they were rendered proprietors; and that wretched people, being compelled to labour in order to satisfy the rapacity of both, the exactions of their oppressors no longer knew any bounds. During several years the gold brought into the royal smelting-houses in Hispaniola amounted annually to more than one hundred thousand pounds. Vast fortunes were created of a sudden by some; others dissipated in ostentatious profusion what they acquired with facility. Dazzled by both, new adventurers crowded to America, with the most eager impatience to share in those treasures which had enriched their countrymen, and the colony continued to increase. A. D. 1506.

Ovando governed the Spaniards with wisdom and justice. He established equal laws, and by executing them with impartiality, accustomed the people of the colony to reverence them. He founded several new towns, and endeavoured to turn the attention of his countrymen to some branch of industry more useful than that of searching for gold in the mines. Some slips of the sugar-cane having been brought from the Canary islands by way of experiment, they were found to thrive with such increase that the cultivation of them became an object of commerce. Extensive plantations were begun, sugar-works erected, and in a few years the manufacture of this commodity was the great occupation of the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and the most considerable source of their wealth.

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The prudent endeavours of Ovando, to promote the welfare of the colony, were powerfully seconded by Ferdinand. The large remittances which he received from the New World, opened his eyes, at length, with respect to the value and importance of those discoveries which he had hitherto affected to undervalue. He erected a board of trade composed of persons eminent for rank and ability, to whom he committed the administration of American affairs. But, notwithstanding this attention to the welfare of the colony, a calamity impended which threatened its dissolution. The original inhabitants, on whose labour the Spaniards in Hispaniola depended for their prosperity, and even their existence, wasted so fast that the extinction of the whole race seemed to be inevitable. When Columbus discovered this island, the number of its inhabitants was computed to be at least a million. They were now reduced to sixty thousand, in the space of fifteen years. The Spaniards being thus deprived of the instruments which they were accustomed to employ, found it impossible to extend their improvements, or even to carry on the works which they had already begun. To provide an immediate remedy, Ovando proposed to transport the inhabitants of the Lucayo islands to Hispaniola, under pretence that they might be civilized with more facility, and instructed with greater advantage in the Christian religion, if they were united to the Spanish colony, and placed under the immediate inspection of the missionaries settled there. Ferdinand gave his assent to the proposal; several vessels were fitted out for the Lucayos, and forty thousand of the inhabitants were decoyed into Hispaniola, to share the sufferings which were the lot of those who

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lived there, and to mingle their groans and tears with those of that wretched race of men.

New discoveries were made, and new colonies formed; and by the command of Ovando, Sebastian de Ocampo sailed round Cuba, and proved with certainty that it was an island. This voyage was one of the last occurrences under the administration of Ovando. Ever since the death of Columbus, his son, Don Diego, had been employed in soliciting Ferdinand to grant him the offices of viceroy and admiral in the New World. After two years spent in incessant but fruitless importunity, he commenced a suit against his sovereign before the council which managed Indian affairs; and that court, with integrity which reflects honour upon its proceedings, decided against the king, and sustained Diego's claim.

As soon as the obstacles were removed, Don Diego repaired quickly to Hispaniola, where he lived with a splendour and magnificence hitherto unknown in the New World; and the family of Columbus seemed now to enjoy the honours and rewards due to his inventive genius, of which he had been cruelly defrauded. No benefit, however, accrued to the unhappy natives from this change of governors. Don Diego, soon after he landed, divided such Indians as were still unappropriated among his relations and attendants. *A. D. 1508.*

The next care of the new governor was to settle a colony in Cubagua, celebrated for large quantities of oysters which produced pearls. This became a place of considerable resort, and large fortunes were acquired by the fishery for pearls, which was carried on with extraordinary ardour. The Indians, especially those from the Lucayo islands, were compelled to dive for them; and

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this dangerous and unhealthy employment was an additional calamity which contributed not a little to the extinction of that devoted race.

A. D. 1509. About this period Juan Diaz de Solis and Pinzon set out upon another voyage. They stood directly south, towards the equinoctial line, which Pinzon had formerly crossed, and advanced as far as the 40th degree of southern latitude. They were astonished to find that the continent of America stretched on their right-hand through all this vast extent of ocean. They landed in several places to take possession in the name of their sovereign; but though the country appeared to be extremely fertile and inviting, their force was so small that they left no colony behind them. Their voyage served, however, to give the Spaniards more exalted and adequate ideas with respect to the dimensions of this quarter of the globe.

Though it was about ten years since Columbus had discovered the main land in America, yet it was not till this period that the Spaniards seriously attempted to make any settlement upon it. The scheme took its rise from Alonzo de Ojeda, and Diego de Nicuessa, who were encouraged by Ferdinand. They erected two governments on the continent, one extending from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Darien, and the other from that to Cape Gracias a Dios. The former was given to Ojeda, the latter to Nicuessa. Ojeda fitted out a ship and two brigs, with three hundred men; Nicuessa, six vessels, with seven hundred and eighty men. They sailed about the same time from St. Domingo for their respective governments. They found the natives in those countries to be of a character very different from that of their countrymen in the islands. They were

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fierce and warlike. Their arrows were dipped in a poison so noxious, that every wound was followed with certain death. In one encounter they slew above seventy of Ojeda's followers, and the Spaniards, for the first time, were taught to dread the inhabitants of the New World. Nicuessa was opposed by people equally resolute in defence of their possessions. Nothing could soften their ferocity. Though the Spaniards employed every art to sooth them, they refused to hold any intercourse with men whose residence among them they considered as fatal to their liberty and independence. This implacable enmity of the natives might perhaps have been surmounted by the perseverance of the Spaniards, by the superiority of their arms, and their skill in the art of war; but every disaster which can be accumulated upon the unfortunate combined to complete their ruin. The loss of their ships, by accidents, upon an unknown coast; the diseases of the climate; the want of provisions; and the incessant hostilities of the natives, involved them in a succession of calamities, the bare recital of which strikes one with horror. Though they received two considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola, the greater part of those who engaged in this expedition perished in less than a year, in the most extreme misery. A few who survived settled as a feeble colony on the Gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, whose conduct and courage marked him out as a leader in more splendid and successful undertakings. Nor was he the only adventurer in this expedition who will hereafter appear with lustre in more important scenes. Francisco Pizarro was one of Ojeda's companions, and in this school of adversity ac-

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quired or improved the talents which fitted him for the extraordinary actions which he afterwards performed. Herman de Cortes had likewise engaged early in this enterprise, which roused all the active youth of Hispaniola to arms; but the good fortune that accompanied him in his subsequent adventures interposed, and saved him from the disasters to which his companions were exposed. He was taken ill at St. Domingo before the departure of the fleet, and detained there by a tedious indisposition.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of this expedition, the Spaniards were not deterred from engaging in new schemes of a similar nature. Don Diego Columbus proposed to conquer the island of Cuba, and to establish a colony there, and many persons of chief distinction in Hispaniola engaged with alacrity in the measure. He gave the command of the troops destined for that service to Diego Velasquez, one of his father's companions in his second voyage, and who, having been long settled in Hispaniola, seemed to be well qualified for conducting an expedition of importance. Three hundred men were deemed sufficient for the conquest of an island above seven hundred miles in length, and filled with inhabitants. But they were of the same unwarlike character with the people of Hispaniola, and had made no preparations towards a defence. The only obstruction the Spaniards met with was from Hatuey, a cazique, who had fled from Hispaniola, and had taken possession of the eastern extremity of Cuba. He stood upon the defensive at their first landing, and endeavoured to drive them back to their ships. His feeble troops, however, were soon dispersed, and he himself taken prisoner. Velasquez, according to the

A. D. 1511.

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barbarous maxim of the Spaniards, considered him as a slave who had taken arms against his master, and condemned him to the flames. When Hatuey was fastened to the stake, a Franciscan friar laboured to convert him, and promised him admittance into the joys of heaven, if he would embrace the Christian faith. "Are there any "Spaniards," says he, "in that region of bliss "which you describe?" "Yes," replied the monk, "but only such as are worthy and good." "The best of them," returned the indignant cazique, "have neither worth nor goodness; I will "not go to a place where I may meet with one "of that accursed race." This dreadful example of vengeance struck the people of Cuba with such terror, that they scarcely gave any opposition to the progress of the invaders; and Velasquez, without the loss of a man, annexed this extensive and fertile island to the Spanish monarchy.

The facility with which this important conquest was completed, served as an incitement to other undertakings. Juan Ponce de Leon having acquired both fame and wealth by the reduction of Puerto Rico, fitted out, at his own expense, three ships for a voyage of discovery. He stood to the southwest, and reached a country hitherto unknown to the Spaniards, which he called Florida. He attempted to land in different places, but met with such vigorous opposition from the natives, who were fierce and warlike, as convinced him that an increase of force was requisite to effect a settlement.

It was not merely a passion for searching new countries that prompted Leon to undertake this voyage: he was influenced by one of those visionary ideas, which at that time often mingled

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with the spirit of discovery, and rendered it more active. A tradition prevailed among the natives of Puerto Rico, that in one of the Lucayo islands there was a fountain of such wonderful virtue, as to renew the youth and recal the vigour of every person who bathed in its salutary waters. In hopes of finding this grand restorative, Leon and his followers ranged through the islands, searching, with fruitless solicitude and labour, for the fountain which was the chief object of their expedition.

Soon after the expedition to Florida, a discovery of much greater importance was made in another part of America. Balboa, having been raised to the government of a small colony at Santo Maria, in Darien, by the voluntary suffrages of his associates, was extremely desirous of obtaining from the crown a confirmation of their election. Having, however, no interest at court, he endeavoured to merit the dignity to which he aspired, and aimed at performing some signal service, that would secure him preference to every competitor. Full of this idea, he made frequent inroads into the adjacent country, subdued several caziques, and collected a considerable quantity of gold. In one of these excursions the Spaniards contended with such eagerness about the division of some gold, that they were proceeding to acts of violence against one another. A young cazique who was present, astonished at the high value which they set upon a thing of which he did not discern the use, tumbled the gold out of the balance with indignation; and turning to the Spaniards, "Why do you quarrel," says he, "about such a trifle? If you are so passionately fond of gold as to abandon your own country, and disturb the tranquillity of distant na-

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tions for its sake, I will conduct you to a region where the metal is so common that the meanest utensils are formed of it." Transported with what they heard, Balboa eagerly inquired where this happy country lay. He informed him, that at the distance of six suns, that is six days journey towards the south, they should discover another ocean, near to which this wealthy kingdom was situated; but if they intended to attack that powerful state, they must assemble forces far superior in number and strength to those which now appeared.

This was the first information that the Spaniards received concerning the opulent country of Peru. Balboa had now before him objects suited to his ambition and enterprising genius. He immediately concluded that he should find, what Columbus had sought for in vain, a direct communication with the East-Indies. Elated with the idea of performing what so great a man had fruitlessly attempted, he was impatient until he could set out upon this enterprise, in comparison of which all his former exploits appeared inconsiderable. Previous arrangement was, however, necessary; he sent officers to Hispaniola, from which place he allured a great number of volunteers, and he thought himself in a condition to attempt the discovery. He set out upon this important expedition on the 1st of September, about the time when the periodical rains began to abate. Without any difficulty they reached the territories of a cazique whose friendship he had gained. Though their guides had represented the breadth of the isthmus to be only a journey of six days, they spent twenty-five in forcing their way through the woods and mountains. Many of A. D. 1513.

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them were ready to sink with fatigue and disease. At length the Indians assured them, that from the top of the next mountain they should discover the ocean which was the object of their wishes. When, with infinite toil, they had climbed up the greater part of that steep ascent, Balboa commanded his men to halt, and advanced alone to the summit, that he might be the first who should enjoy a spectacle which he had so long desired. As soon as he beheld the South Sea stretching in endless prospect below him, he fell on his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a discovery so beneficial to his country and so honourable to himself. His followers, observing his transports of joy, rushed forward to join in his wonder, exultation, and gratitude. They held on their course to the shore with great alacrity; when Balboa, advancing up to the middle in the waves, with his buckler and sword, took possession of the ocean in the name of the king his master, and vowed to defend it, with those arms, against all his enemies.

That part of the great Pacific Ocean which Balboa first discovered still retains the name of the Gulf of St. Michael, which he gave it, and is situated on the east of Panama. From several of the petty princes who governed in the districts adjacent to that gulf, he extorted provisions and gold; others sent them to him voluntarily. To these presents some of the caziques added a considerable quantity of pearls, and he learned from them, with much satisfaction, that pearl oysters abounded in the sea which he had newly discovered. Together with the acquisition of this wealth, which served to sooth and encourage his followers, he received accounts which confirmed

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his sanguine hopes of future and more extensive benefits from the expedition. All the people on the coast of the South Sea concurred in informing him that there was a mighty and opulent kingdom, situated at a considerable distance towards the south-east, the inhabitants of which had tame animals to carry their burthens. Anxious as Balboa was to visit this unknown country, his prudence restrained him from attempting to invade it with a handful of men. He determined to lead back his followers, at present, to their settlement at Santa Maria, in Darien, and to return next season with a force more adequate to such an arduous enterprise. None of Balboa's officers distinguished himself more in this service than Francisco Pizarro, or assisted with greater courage and ardour in opening a communication with those countries in which he was destined to act a most illustrious part.

Balboa's first care was to send information to Spain of the important discovery which he had made, and to demand a reinforcement of a thousand men. The first account of the discovery of the New World hardly occasioned greater joy, than the unexpected tidings that a passage was at last found into the great Southern Ocean. Notwithstanding Balboa's recent services, which marked him out as the most proper person to finish that great undertaking which he had begun, Ferdinand was so ungenerous as to overlook these, and to appoint Pedrarias Davila governor of Darien. He gave him the command of 15 stout vessels and 1200 soldiers; and such was the ardour of the Spanish gentlemen to follow a leader who was about to conduct them to a country where, as fame reported, they had only to throw nets into the sea

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and draw out gold, that 1500 embarked on board the fleet.

Pedrarias reached the Gulf of Darien without any remarkable accident, and, to his astonishment, found Balboa, of whose exploits they had heard so much, and of whose opulence they had formed such high ideas, clad in a canvas jacket, and wearing coarse hempen sandals, used only by the meanest peasants, employed, together with some Indians, in thatching his own hut with reeds. Even in this simple garb, which corresponded so ill with the expectations and wishes of his new guests, Balboa received them with dignity. And though his troops murmured loudly at the injustice of the king, in superseding their commander, Balboa submitted with implicit obedience to the will of his sovereign, and received Pedrarias with all the deference due to his character.

Notwithstanding this moderation, to which Pedrarias owed the peaceable possession of his government, he appointed a judicial inquiry to be made into Balboa's former conduct, and imposed a considerable fine upon him. His enmity did not stop here. Jealousy of his superior talents led him to the most unjustifiable conduct; and though, at one time, he gave him his own daughter in marriage, in proof of reconciliation, yet he dreaded the prosperity of a man whom he had injured so deeply, and, in the end, brought him to trial for disloyalty to his king, got him condemned and executed.

During these transactions in Darien, Ferdinand was intent upon opening a communication with the Molucca or Spice islands, by the west. He fitted out two ships to attempt such a voyage,
A. D. 1515. and gave them in command to Juan Diaz de Solis, who discovered the rivers Janeiro

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and La Plata. In endeavouring to make a descent in this country, De Solis and several of his crew were slain by the natives, who, in sight of the ships, cut their bodies in pieces, roasted and devoured them. Discouraging and horrible as this event was, yet it was not without benefit; it prepared the way for a more fortunate voyage, by which the great design that Ferdinand had in view was accomplished. Though the Spaniards were thus actively employed in extending their discoveries and settlements in America, they still considered Hispaniola as their principal colony. Don Diego Columbus rendered the members of this colony prosperous and happy. But he was circumscribed in his operations by the suspicious policy of Ferdinand, who at length stripped him of all power, and bestowed it upon Rodrigo Albuquerque, his confidential minister. Don Diego repaired to Spain with the vain hope of obtaining redress. Albuquerque entered upon his office with all the rapacity of an indigent adventurer impatient to amass wealth; and by his tyranny the wretched and innocent race of Indians were quickly extirpated.

The violence of these proceedings, together with the fatal consequences which attended them, not only excited complaints amongst such as thought themselves aggrieved, but affected the hearts of all who retained any sentiments of humanity. From the time that ecclesiastics were sent as instructors into America, they perceived that the rigour with which their countrymen treated the natives rendered their ministry altogether fruitless. The missionaries early remonstrated against the maxims of the planters with respect to the Americans, and the *repartimientos*, or *distributions*, by which they were given up as slaves A. D. 1517.

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to their conquerors. The *Dominicans*, to whom the instruction of the Americans was originally committed, were most vehement in testifying against the *repartimientos*. Montesino, one of their most eminent preachers, inveighed against this practice, in the great church at St. Domingo, with all the impetuosity of popular eloquence. Don Diego Columbus and the principal people of the colony complained of the monk to his superiors; but they, instead of condemning, applauded his doctrine, as equally pious and seasonable. The *Franciscans* espoused the defence of the *repartimientos*, and endeavoured to paliate what they could not justify, alleging that it was impossible to carry on any improvement in the colony, unless the Spaniards possessed such dominion over the natives that they could compel them to labour.

The Dominicans, regardless of such political and interested considerations, would not relax the rigour of their sentiments, and even refused to absolve, or admit to the sacraments, such of their countrymen as continued to hold the natives in servitude. Both parties applied to the king for his decision, who determined in favour of the Dominicans, and declared the Indians to be a free people. Notwithstanding this decision the *repartimientos* were continued upon their ancient footing, nor could the repeated remonstrances of the Dominicans obtain any practical relief for the Indians; and in the end Ferdinand himself concurred in admitting the lawfulness of the distributions, and even conferred new grants of Indians upon several of his courtiers.

The violent operations of Albuquerque, the new distributer of Indians, revived the zeal of the Dominicans against the *repartimientos*, and called

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forth an advocate for that oppressed people, who possessed all the courage, talents, and activity, requisite in supporting such a desperate cause.—This was Bartholomew de las Casas, a native of Seville, and one of the clergymen sent out with Columbus in his second voyage to Hispaniola, in order to settle in that island. He early adopted the opinion prevalent among ecclesiastics with respect to the unlawfulness of reducing the natives to servitude; and that he might demonstrate the sincerity of his conviction, he relinquished all the Indians who had fallen to his own share in the division of the inhabitants among their conquerors, declaring that he should ever bewail his own misfortune and guilt, in having exercised for a moment this impious dominion over his fellow-creatures. From that time he became the avowed patron of the Indians, and by his zeal and authority he had often the merit of setting some bounds to the excesses of his countrymen. He remonstrated against the conduct of Albuquerque; and when he found that vain, he set out for Europe, with the most sanguine hopes of opening the eyes and softening the heart of Ferdinand, by that striking picture of the oppression of his new subjects which he would exhibit to his view.

He easily obtained admittance to the king, whom he found in a declining state of health. With freedom and eloquence he represented to him all the fatal effects of the *repartimientos* in the New World, charging him with the guilt of having authorized this impious measure, which had brought misery and destruction upon a numerous and innocent race of men, whom Providence had placed under his protection. Ferdinand listened with deep compunction, and promised to take into serious

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consideration the means of redressing the evil of which he complained. But death prevented him from executing his resolutions. Charles of Austria, to whom all his crowns devolved, appointed cardinal Ximenes his regent. With him Las Casas pleaded the cause of the Indians, and obtained a commission from the monks of St. Jerome to go to America and examine their situation, and give them every relief that the case admitted.—Las Casas was appointed to accompany them, with the title of Protector of the Indians. The fathers of St. Jerome proceeded with caution and prudence; and having compared different accounts, and maturely considered every thing connected with the subject, they determined that the Spaniards must relinquish their conquests entirely, or give up the advantages to be derived from them, unless the *repartimientos* were tolerated. They used, however, their utmost endeavours to prevent the fatal effects of this establishment, and to secure to the Indians the consolation of the best treatment compatible with a state of servitude.

With these decisions, Las Casas, of all the Spaniards, was alone dissatisfied. He contended, that the Indians were by nature free, and, as their protector, he required the superintendants not to bereave them of the common privilege of humanity. They received his most virulent remonstrances with emotion, but adhered firmly to their own system. The Spanish planters did not bear with him so patiently, but were ready to tear him in pieces for insisting on a requisition so odious.—Las Casas found it necessary to take shelter in a convent; and perceiving that his efforts were fruitless, he soon set out for Europe, with a fixed

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resolution never to abandon the people in whose cause he had engaged. When he arrived, he found Ximenes declining in health, and preparing to resign his authority to the young king. Him Las Casas plied with intercessions in behalf of the Americans, and at length obtained the recal of the monks of St. Jerome, and a new commission was appointed to examine their claims, and to alleviate their sufferings.

The impossibility of carrying on any improvement in America, unless the Spanish planters could command the labour of the natives, was an insuperable objection to his plan of treating them as free subjects. In order to provide some remedy for this, without which he knew it would be vain to mention his scheme, Las Casas proposed to purchase a sufficient number of negroes from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa, and to transport them to America, that they might be employed as slaves in working the mines and cultivating the ground. One of the first advantages which the Portuguese had derived from their discoveries in Africa arose from the trade in slaves. Various circumstances concurred in reviving the odious and diabolical commerce which had been long abolished in Europe, and which is no less repugnant to the feelings of humanity than to the principles of religion. Some negro slaves had already been sent into the New World, who were found more robust and hardy than the natives, more capable of fatigue, more patient under servitude; and the labour of one negro was computed to be equal to that of four Indians. Cardinal Ximenes rejected this species of commerce, because he perceived the iniquity of reducing one race of men to slavery, while he

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was consulting about the means of restoring liberty to another. Las Casas, however, seemed incapable of making this distinction. Whilst he contended zealously for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he laboured to enslave the inhabitants of another region, and, in the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it lawful and expedient to impose one still heavier upon the Africans. Unfortunately for the latter, Las Casas's plan was adopted. Charles granted to a favourite a patent, containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand negroes into America. The favourite sold his patent to some Genoese merchants for twenty-five thousand ducats, and they were the first who brought into a regular form that commerce for slaves between Africa and America, which has since been carried on to such an amazing extent.

But the Genoese demanded such an high price for negroes, that the number imported into Hispaniola made but little change upon the state of the colony. Las Casas, whose ardour was no less inventive than indefatigable, had recourse to another expedient for the relief of the Indians. He applied for a grant of unoccupied country, stretching along the coast from the Gulf of Paria to the western frontier of that province, now known by the name of Santa Martha, intending to form there a new colony consisting of husbandmen, labourers, and ecclesiastics. After long and tedious discussions on the subject, his request was granted: but having fairly made the experiment, he was obliged to abandon it, having lost most of the people who accompanied him in his project. From that time Las Casas, ashamed to show his face,

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shut himself up in the convent of the Dominicans at St. Domingo, and soon after assumed the habit of that order. But it is time to return to the Spanish discoveries.

Velasquez, who conquered Cuba, still retained the government of that island as the deputy of Diego Columbus; and under his prudent administration Cuba became one of the most flourishing of the Spanish settlements. The fame of this allured thither many persons from the other colonies, in hopes of finding either some permanent establishment, or some employment for their activity. As Cuba lay to the west of all the islands occupied by the Spaniards, and as the ocean which stretches beyond it towards that quarter had not hitherto been explored, these circumstances naturally invited the inhabitants to attempt new discoveries. An association was formed for this purpose, at the head of which was Francisco Hernandez Cordova. Velasquez approved of the design, and assisted in carrying it on. He and Cordova advanced money for the purchase of three small vessels, on which they embarked one hundred and ten men. They stood directly west, in conformity to the opinion of the great Columbus, who uniformly maintained, that a westerly course would lead to the most important discoveries. On the twenty-first day after A. D. 1517. their departure from St. Jago they saw land, which proved to be the eastern point of the large peninsula of Yucatan. As they approached the shore, five canoes came off full of people decently clad in cotton garments. Cordova endeavoured by small presents to gain the good will of these people. They, in return, invited the Spaniards to visit their habitations, with an appearance of

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cordiality: but they soon found that, if the people of Yucatan made progress in improvement beyond their countrymen, they were likewise more artful and warlike. For though the cazique received Cordova with many tokens of friendship, he had posted a considerable body of his subjects in an ambush behind a thicket, who, upon a signal given, rushed out and attacked the Spaniards with great boldness, and some degree of martial order. At the first flight of their arrows, fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded; but the Indians were struck with terror by the explosion of the fire-arms, and so surprised at the execution done by them with the cross-bows, that they fled precipitately. Cordova quitted a country where he had met with such a fierce reception, carrying off two prisoners, together with the ornaments of a small temple, which he plundered in his retreat. He continued his course towards the west, and on the sixteenth day arrived at Campeachy, where the natives received him hospitably. As their water began to fail, they advanced and discovered a river at Potonchan, some leagues beyond Campeachy. Cordova landed his troops in order to protect the sailors while employed in filling the casks; but notwithstanding this precaution, the natives rushed down upon them with such fury, and in such numbers, that forty-seven of the Spaniards were killed on the spot, and one man only of the whole body escaped unhurt. After this fatal repulse, nothing remained but to hasten back to Cuba with their shattered forces. In their passage they suffered exquisite distress for want of water: some of them sunk under these calamities, and died by the way. Cordova, their commander, expired soon after they landed at Cuba.

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Notwithstanding the disastrous conclusion of this expedition, it contributed rather to animate than to damp the spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards. Velasquez encouraged their ardour, and fitted out, at his own expense, four ships for a new enterprise. The command of it was given to Juan de Grijalva, who soon discovered that part of the continent which has ever since been known by the name of New Spain. A. D. 1518. They landed at a river which the natives called Tabasco; and the fame of their victory at Potonchan having reached this place, the cazique received them amicably, and bestowed upon them some valuable presents. They next touched at Guaxaca, where they were received with the respect paid to superior beings. The people perfumed them as they landed with incense of gum-copal, and presented to them as offerings the choicest delicacies of the country. They were extremely fond of trading with the new visitants; and in six days the Spaniards obtained ornaments of gold to the value of more than 3900l. in exchange for European toys. The two prisoners whom they brought from Yucatan had hitherto served as interpreters; but as they did not understand the language of this country, the Spaniards learned from the natives by signs, that they were subjects of a great monarch named Montezuma, whose dominion extended over that and many other provinces. Grijalva continued his course towards the west. He landed on a small isle which he called the isle of Sacrifices, because there the Spaniards beheld, for the first time, the horrid spectacle of human victims offered to the gods. He touched also at the island St. Juan de Ulua, from which place he dispatched Pedro de Alvarado,

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one of his officers, to Velasquez with a full account of the important discoveries that he had made. In the mean time he proceeded along the coast as far as the river Panuco. Several of his officers were desirous of planting a colony in some proper station, in order that they might extend the dominion of their sovereign. This scheme, however, appeared to Grijalva too perilous to be attempted. He judged it more prudent to return to Cuba, having fulfilled the purpose of his voyage; which he did after an absence of six months.

This was the longest as well as the most successful voyage which the Spaniards had made in the New World. As soon as Alvarado reached Cuba, Velasquez, transported with success so much beyond his expectations, immediately dispatched a person in his confidence to carry this important intelligence to Spain, and to solicit such an increase of authority as might enable him to attempt projects on a much larger scale. Without waiting for the return of his messenger, or for the arrival of Grijalva, of whom he became so jealous as to resolve to employ him no longer, he began to prepare such a powerful armament as might prove equal to an enterprise of danger and importance. But before we enter upon a detailed account of the expedition on which Velasquez was intent, it may be proper to pause, and take a brief view of the New World when first discovered, and to contemplate the policy and manners of the rude tribes that occupied the parts of it with which the Spaniards were at this time acquainted.

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CHAP. III.

View of America when first discovered. Its vast Extent. Grandeur of its Objects. Its Mountains. Rivers. Lakes. Climate. Its uncultivated State. Its Soil. How America was peopled. Condition and Character of the Americans. All Savages, except the Mexicans and Peruvians. The bodily Constitution. The Qualities of their Minds. Their domestic State. Their political Institutions. Their System of War. The Arts with which they were acquainted. Their religious Institutions. Detached Customs. General Review of their Virtues and Vices.

TWENTY-SIX years had elapsed since Columbus conducted Europeans to the New World. During that period the Spaniards had made great progress in exploring its various regions. They had sailed along the eastern coast of the continent, from the river De la Plata to the bottom of the Mexican Gulf, and had found that it stretched, without interruption, through this vast portion of the globe. They had discovered the great Southern Ocean, and acquired some knowledge of the coast of Florida; and though they pushed their discoveries no farther north, other nations had visited those parts which they had neglected. The English had sailed from Labrador to the confines of Florida, and the Portuguese had viewed the same regions. Thus, at this period, the extent of the New World was known almost from its northern extremity to 35 degrees south of the equator. The countries which stretch

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from thence to the southern boundary of America, the great empire of Peru, and the interior state of the extensive dominions subject to the sovereigns of Mexico, were still undiscovered.

When we contemplate the New World, we are struck with its immense extent. Columbus made known a new hemisphere, larger than either Europe, Asia, or Africa, and not much inferior in dimensions to a third part of the habitable globe. America is remarkable also for its position; it stretches from the northern polar circle to a high southern latitude, more than 1500 miles beyond the farthest extremity of the old continent on that side of the line. A country of such extent passes through all the climates capable of becoming the habitation of man, and fit for yielding the various productions peculiar either to the temperate or to the torrid regions of the earth.

Next to the extent of the New World, the grandeur of the objects which it presents to view, is most apt to strike the eye of an observer. Nature seems to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale, and with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the features of this country, by a peculiar magnificence. The mountains in America are much superior in height to those in the other divisions of the globe. Even the plain of Quito, which may be considered as the base of the Andes, is elevated farther above the sea than the top of the Pyrenees. This stupendous ridge of the Andes, no less remarkable for extent than elevation, rises in different places more than one third above the Peak of Teneriffe, the highest land in the ancient hemisphere. The Andes may literally be said to hide their heads in the clouds; the storms often roll and the thunder bursts below their summits,

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which, though exposed to the rays of the sun in the centre of the torrid zone, are covered with everlasting snows.

From these lofty mountains descend rivers proportionally large, with which the streams in the ancient continent are not to be compared. The Maragnon, the Oronoco, the Plata, in South America; the Missisippi and St. Laurence, in North America, flow in such spacious channels, that long before they feel the influence of the tide, they resemble arms of the sea rather than rivers of fresh water. The lakes of the New World may properly be termed inland seas of fresh water, and there is nothing in the other parts of the globe which resembles the prodigious chain of lakes in North America.

The New World is of a form extremely favourable to commercial intercourse, on account of the numerous inlets of the ocean, the deep bays and gulfs, the surrounding islands, and being itself watered with a variety of navigable rivers. But what distinguishes America from other parts of the earth, is the peculiar temperature of its climate, and the different laws to which it is subject, with respect to the distribution of heat and cold. The maxims which are founded upon the observation of our hemisphere will not apply to the other. In the New World cold predominates. The rigour of the frigid zone extends over half of those regions which should be temperate by their position. Countries where the grape and the fig should ripen, are buried under snow one half of the year; and lands situated under the same parallel with the most fertile and best cultivated provinces of Europe, are chilled with perpetual frosts, which almost destroy the power of vegetation. As we

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advance to those parts of America which lie in the same parallel with provinces of Asia and Africa blessed with an uniform enjoyment of such genial warmth as is most friendly to life and to vegetation, the dominion of cold continues to be felt, and winter reigns, though during a short period, with extreme severity. If we proceed along the American continent into the torrid zone, we shall find the cold prevalent in the New World extending itself also to this region of the globe, and mitigating the excess of its fervour. While the negro on the coast of Africa is scorched with unremitting heat, the inhabitant of Peru breathes an air equally mild and temperate, and is perfectly shaded under a canopy of grey clouds, which intercepts the fierce beams of the sun, without obstructing his friendly influence.

Various causes combine in rendering the climate of America so extremely different from that of the ancient continent. America advances nearer to the pole than either Europe or Asia. Both these have large seas to the north, which are open during part of the year, and even when covered with ice, the wind that blows over them is less intensely cold than that which blows over land in the same high latitudes. But in America the land stretches from the river St. Laurence towards the pole, and spreads out immensely to the west. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with snow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind, in passing over such an extent of high and frozen land, becomes so impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenness, which it retains in its progress through warmer climates, and is not entirely mitigated until it reach the Gulf of Mexico. Over all the continent of North America a north-

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westerly wind and excessive cold are synonymous terms. Even in the most sultry weather, the moment that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating influence is felt in a transition from heat to cold, no less violent than sudden. To this powerful cause may be ascribed the extraordinary dominion of cold, and its violent inroads into the southern provinces in that part of the globe.

After contemplating those permanent and characteristic qualities of the American continent, which arise from the peculiarity of its situation and the disposition of its parts, the next object that merits attention is its condition when first discovered as far as that depended on the industry and operations of man. The effects of human ingenuity and labour are more extensive and considerable than even our own vanity is apt at first to imagine. When we survey the face of the habitable globe, no small part of that fertility and beauty which we ascribe to the hand of nature is the work of man. His efforts, when continued through a succession of ages, change the appearance, and improve the qualities of the earth. As a great part of the ancient continent has long been occupied by nations far advanced in arts and industry, our eye is accustomed to view the earth in that form which it assumes when rendered fit to be the residence of a numerous race of men, and to supply them with nourishment. But in the New World the state of mankind was ruder, and the aspect of nature extremely different. Immense forests covered a great part of the uncultivated earth; and as the hand of industry had not taught the rivers to run in a proper channel, or drained off the stagnating water, many of the most fertile plains were overflowed, or converted into

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marshes, When the English began to settle in America, they termed the countries of which they took possession, *The Wilderness*. Nothing but the eager expectation of finding mines of gold could have induced the Spaniards to penetrate through the woods and marshes of America, where, at every step, they observed the extreme difference between the uncultivated face of nature, and that which it acquires under the hand of industry.

The labour and operation of man not only improve and embellish the earth, but render it more wholesome and friendly to life. All the provinces of America when first discovered were found to be extremely unhealthly. Great numbers of the first settlers were cut off by the unknown and violent diseases with which they were infected. Such as survived the rage of malady, were not exempted from the noxious influence of the climate. They returned to Europe feeble and emaciated, with complexions that indicated the unwholesome temperature of the country where they had resided.

The uncultivated state of the New World affected also the qualities of its productions. The principle of life seems to have been less active and vigorous there than in the ancient continent. The different species of animals are much fewer in America than those of the other hemisphere. In the islands there were only four kinds of quadrupeds known; the largest of which did not exceed the size of a rabbit. Of two hundred different kinds of animals spread over the face of the earth, only about one third existed in America at the time of its discovery. The same causes which checked the growth and the vigour of the more noble animals, were friendly to the propagation and increase of reptiles and insects: the active principle of life

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seems to waste its force in productions of the inferior form. The air is often darkened with clouds of insects, and the ground covered with shocking and noxious reptiles. The country around Porto Bello swarms with toads, in such multitudes as hide the surface of the earth. At Guyaquil, snakes and vipers are hardly less numerous. Carthagena is infested with numerous flocks of bats which annoy both men and beast. In the islands, legions of ants have at different times consumed every vegetable production, and left the earth entirely bare, as if it had been burnt with fire.

The birds of the New World are not distinguished by qualities so conspicuous as those which we have observed in its quadrupeds. Birds are more independent of man, and less affected by the changes which his industry and labour make upon the face of the earth. They have a greater propensity to migrate from one country to another, and can gratify this instinct of their nature without difficulty or danger. Hence the number of birds common to both continents is much greater than that of quadrupeds; and even such as are peculiar to America nearly resemble those with which mankind were acquainted in similar regions of the ancient hemisphere. The American birds of the torrid zone, like those of the climate of Asia and Africa, are deckt in plumage which dazzles the eye with the beauty of its colours; but nature, satisfied with clothing them in this gay dress, has denied most of them that melody of sound and variety of notes which catch and delight the ear. The birds of the temperate climate there are less splendid in their appearance, but they have voices of greater compass, and more melodious. In some districts of America the unwholesome temperature

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of the air seems to be unfavourable even to this part of the creation. America however produces the Condor, which is entitled to pre-eminence over all the flying tribe, in bulk, in strength, and in courage.

The soil in America must of course be extremely various, but the cold and moisture which prevail there have considerable influence over it. If we wish to rear in America the productions which abound in any particular district of the ancient world, we must advance several degrees nearer to the line than in the other hemisphere, as it requires such an increase of heat to counterbalance the natural frigidity of the soil and climate. At the Cape of Good Hope, several of the plants and fruits peculiar to the countries within the tropics are cultivated with success; whereas in Florida and South Carolina, though considerably nearer the line, they cannot be brought to thrive with equal certainty. But if allowance be made for this diversity in the degree of heat, the soil of America is naturally as rich and fertile as that in any part of the earth. As the country was thinly inhabited, the earth was not exhausted by consumption. The vegetable productions to which the fertility of the soil gave birth, being suffered to corrupt on its surface, returned with increase into its bosom. As trees and plants derive a great part of their nourishment from air and water; if they were not destroyed, they would render to the earth more, perhaps, than they take from it, and feed rather than impoverish it. The vast number, as well as enormous size of the trees in America, indicate the extraordinary vigour of the soil in its native state. When the Europeans first began to cultivate the New World, they were astonished at the luxuriant power of vegetation in

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its virgin mould; and in several places the ingenuity of the planter is still employed in diminishing its superfluous fertility, to bring it down to a state fit for profitable culture.

We are now to inquire how America was peopled. The theories and speculations of ingenious men with respect to this subject would fill many volumes. Some have imagined that the people of America were not the offspring of the same common parent with the rest of mankind: others contend that they are descended from some remnant of the antediluvian inhabitants of the earth who survived the deluge, and accordingly suppose the uncivilized tribes to be the most ancient race of people on the earth. There is hardly any nation from the north to the south pole to which some antiquary, in the extravagance of conjecture, has not ascribed the honour of peopling of America. Without entering at large upon this elaborate disquisition, we may observe that from the contiguity, it is possible that America may have received its first inhabitants from our continent, either by the north-west of Europe or the north-east of Asia. There seems, however, good reason for supposing that the progenitors of all the American nations, from Cape Horn to the southern confines of Labrador, migrated from the latter rather than from the former. The Esquimaux are the only people in America who, in their aspect or character, bear any resemblance to the northern Europeans. They are manifestly a race of men distinct from all the other nations of the American continent, in language, disposition, and in habits of life. Their original then may warrantably be traced up to the north of Europe. But among the other inhabitants of America there is such a striking similitude in

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the form of their bodies, and the qualities of their minds, as to force us to pronounce them to be descended from one source. There may be a variety in the shades, but we can every where trace the same original colour. Each tribe has something peculiar which distinguishes it, but in all of them we discern certain features common to the whole race; they have some resemblance to the rude tribes scattered over the north-east of Asia, but scarcely any to the nations settled in the northern extremities of Europe: we therefore refer them to Asiatic progenitors having settled in those parts of America where the Russians have discovered the proximity of the two continents, and spread gradually over its various regions. This account of the progress of population in America coincides with the tradition of the Mexicans concerning their own origin. According to them their ancestors came from a remote country, situated to the north-west of Mexico. They point out the various stations as they advanced from this into the inferior provinces; and it is precisely the same route which they must have held, if they had been emigrants from Asia. The Mexicans, in describing the appearance of their progenitors, their manners, and habits of life at that period, exactly delineate those rude Tartars from whom probably they sprung.

The condition and character of the American nations, at the time when they became known to the Europeans, deserve more attentive consideration than the inquiry concerning their original. The latter is merely an object of curiosity, the former is one of the most important as well as instructive researches that can occupy the philosopher or historian. To complete the history of the human mind, we must contemplate man in all those vari-

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ous situations in which he has been placed. We must follow him in his progress through the different stages of society, and observe how the faculties of the understanding unfold; we must attend to the efforts of his active powers, watch the various emotions of desire and affection, as they rise in the breast, and mark whither they tend and with what they are exerted.

In America, man appears under the rudest form in which we can conceive him to subsist. There were only two nations in this vast continent that had made any considerable progress in acquiring the ideas and adopting the institutions which belong to polished societies. Their government and manners will fall naturally under our review in relating the discovery and conquest of Mexico and Peru. For the present our attention must be turned to the small independent tribes which occupied every other part of America, to whom may be applied the denomination of *Savage*. To conduct this inquiry with greater accuracy, it should be rendered as simple as possible; for this purpose it will be proper to consider,

I. The bodily constitution of the Americans.—The human body is less affected by climate than that of any other animal. Man is the only living creature whose frame is at once so hardy, and so flexible, that he can spread over the whole earth, become the inhabitant of every region, and thrive and multiply under every climate. Subject, however, to the general law of nature, the human body is not entirely exempt from the operation of climate, and, when exposed to the extremes of cold and heat, its size or vigour diminishes. The *complexion* of the Americans is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling the colour of copper; the hair

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of their heads is long, black, coarse, and without curl. They have no beard, and every part of their body is smooth. Their persons are of a full size, extremely straight, and well proportioned. In the islands, the constitution of the natives was extremely feeble and languid. On the continent the human frame acquired greater firmness; still the Americans were more remarkable for agility than strength. They resembled beasts of prey rather than animals formed for labour. They were not only averse from toil, but incapable of it; and when compelled to work, they sunk under tasks which the people of the other continent would have performed with ease. The beardless countenance and smooth skin of the American seem to indicate a defect of vigour. This peculiarity cannot be attributed to their mode of subsistence. For tho' the food of many Americans be extremely insipid, as they are altogether unacquainted with the use of salt, rude tribes in other parts of the earth have subsisted on aliments equally simple, without any apparent diminution in their vigour.

As the external form of the Americans leads us to suspect that there is some natural debility in their frame, the smallness of their appetite for food has been mentioned as a confirmation of this suspicion. The quantity of food which men consume varies according to the temperature of the climate in which they live, the degree of activity which they exert, and the natural vigour of their constitutions. Under the enervating heat of the torrid zone, and where men pass their days in indolence, they require less nourishment than the active inhabitants of temperate or cold countries. But neither the warmth of the climate, nor their extreme laziness, will account for the uncommon defect of

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appetite among the Americans. The Spaniards were astonished at this; while on the other hand the appetite of the Spaniards appeared to the Americans insatiably voracious, and they affirmed that one Spaniard devoured more in a day than ten Americans.

A proof of some feebleness in their frame still more striking is the insensibility of the Americans to the charms of beauty, and the power of love. The Americans are, in an amazing degree, strangers to the force of the first instinct of nature. In every part of the new world the natives treat their women with coldness and indifference. They are neither the objects of that tender attachment which takes place in civilized society, nor of that ardent desire conspicuous among rude nations.

This difference of character must not be imputed to physical causes alone, to the exclusion of the influence which political and moral causes have upon the constitution. Wherever the state of society is such as to create many wants and desires which cannot be satisfied without regular exertions of industry, the body, accustomed to labour, becomes robust and patient of fatigue. The same reasoning will apply to what has been observed concerning their slender demand for food; for where the people are obliged to exert any unusual effort of activity in order to procure subsistence, their appetite is not inferior to that of other men. The operation of political and moral causes is still more conspicuous in modifying the degree of attachment between the sexes. In a state of high civilization this passion, inflamed by restraint, refined by delicacy, and cherished by fashion, occupies and engrosses the heart. It is no longer a simple instinct of nature; sentiment heightens the

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ardour of desire, and the most tender emotions of which our frame is susceptible sooth and agitate the soul. This description, however, applies only to those who, by their situation, are exempted from the cares and labours of life. Among persons doomed by their condition to incessant toil, the dominion of passion is less violent; their solicitude to procure subsistence, and to provide for the first demand of nature, leaves little leisure for attending to its second call. But if the nature of the intercourse between the sexes varies so much in persons of different rank in polished society, the condition of man while he remains uncivilized must occasion a variation still more apparent. We may well suppose that amidst the hardships, the dangers, and the simplicity of savage life, where subsistence is always precarious and often scanty, where men are almost continually engaged in the pursuit of their enemies or in guarding against their attacks, and where neither dress nor reserve are employed as arts of female alurement, that the attention of the Americans to their women would be extremely feeble, without imputing this solely to any physical defect or degradation in their frame.

Notwithstanding the feeble make of the Americans, hardly any of them are deformed or mutilated in any of their senses: and there is less variety in the human form throughout the New World than in the ancient continent. America contains no negroes, which is probably owing to the less degree of heat that is felt there to what the inhabitants of the torrid zone in Asia and Africa are exposed to. Still, however, there are exceptions to the general rule, and a considerable variety has been observed in three districts. In the isthmus of Darien, we are told that there are people of a low

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stature, feeble frame, and of a colour that is a dead milk white: their skin is covered with a fine hairy down of a chalky white; the hair of their heads, their eye-brows, and eye lashes, are of the same hue. Their eyes are of a singular form, and so weak that they can hardly bear the light of the sun: but they see clearly by moon-light, and are most active and gay in the night.

The second district that is occupied by inhabitants differing in appearance from the other people of America is situated in a high northern latitude, extending from the coast of Labrador towards the pole as far as the country is habitable. The people scattered over those dreary regions are known to the Europeans by the name of Esquimaux. They are of a middle size and robust, with heads of a disproportioned bulk, and feet as remarkably small. Their complexion inclines to the European white rather than to the copper colour of America, and they have beards which are sometimes bushy and long. From these and other marks of distinction we may conclude that the Esquimaux are a race different from the rest of the Americans.

The inhabitants of the third district are the famous Patagonians at the southern extremity of America. They are supposed to be one of the wandering tribes that occupy the region which extends from the river De la Plata to the straits of Magellan. It has, however, been ascertained, by accurate observers, that the natives of Patagonia, though stout and well made, are not of such an extraordinary size as to be distinguished from the rest of the human species. The existence of this gigantic race of men seems then to be one of those points in natural history, with respect to which a

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cautious inquirer will hesitate, and suspend his assent, until more complete evidence shall decide whether he ought to admit a fact seemingly inconsistent with what reason and experience have discovered, concerning the structure and conditions of man, in all the various situations in which he has been observed.

In order to form a complete idea with respect to the constitution of the inhabitants of this and the other hemisphere, we should attend not only to their make and vigour of their bodies, but consider what degree of health they enjoy, and to what period of longevity they usually arrive. As most of them are unacquainted with the art of numbering, and all of them forgetful of what is past as they are improvident of what is to come, it is impossible to ascertain their age with any degree of precision. They seem, however, to be every where exempt from many of the distempers which afflict polished nations. None of the maladies which are the immediate offspring of luxury ever visited them; and they have no names in their languages by which to distinguish this numerous train of adventitious evils.

But whatever be the situation in which man is placed, he is born to suffer; and his diseases in the savage state, though fewer in number, are, like those of the animals whom he nearly resembles in his mode of life, more violent and more fatal. If luxury engender and nourish distempers of one species, the rigours of savage life bring on those of another. In the savage state hardships and fatigue violently assault the constitution: in polished societies intemperance undermines it. It is not easy to determine which of them operates with most fatal effect, or tends most to abridge human life.

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The influence of the former is certainly most extensive. The pernicious consequences of luxury reach only to a few members in any community; the distresses of savage life are felt by all. Upon the best evidence that can be obtained, it appears that the general period of human life is shorter among savages than in well regulated and industrious societies.

II. After considering what appears to be peculiar in the bodily constitution of the Americans, we turn our attention towards the powers and qualities of their minds. As the individual advances from the ignorance and imbecility of the infant state to vigour and maturity of understanding, something similar to this may be observed in the progress of the species. With respect to it there is a period of infancy, during which several of the powers of the mind are not unfolded, and all are feeble and defective in their operation. While the condition of man is simple and rude, his reason is but little exercised, and his desires move within a narrow sphere. Hence the intellectual powers are extremely limited, his emotions and efforts are few and languid. What among polished nations is called speculative reasoning or research, is altogether unknown in the rude state of society, and never becomes the occupation or amusement of the human faculties, until man becomes so far improved as to have secured the means of subsistence, as well as the possession of leizure and tranquillity. The thoughts and attention of a savage are confined within the small circle of objects immediately conducive to his preservation or enjoyment. Every thing beyond that is perfectly indifferent to him. While they highly prize such things as serve for present use or minister to

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present enjoyment, they set no value upon those which are not the object of some immediate want. When in the evening a Caribbee feels himself disposed to go to rest, no consideration will tempt him to sell his hammock: but in the morning, when he is sallying out to the business or pastime of the day, he will part with it for the slightest toy that catches his fancy. Among civilized nations arithmetic, or the art of numbering, is deemed an essential science, but among savages, who have no property to estimate, no hoarded treasures to count, no variety of objects or multiplicity of ideas to enumerate, arithmetic is a superfluous and useless art. Accordingly among some tribes in America it seems to be quite unknown. There are many that cannot reckon further than three; several can proceed as far as ten or twenty, but when they would convey an idea of any number beyond these, they point to the hairs of their head, intimating that it is equal to them, or with wonder declare it to be so great that it cannot be reckoned. In other respects the exercise of the understanding among rude nations is still more limited. The first ideas of every human being must be such as he receives by his senses. But in the mind of man, while in the savage state, there seem to be hardly any ideas but what enter by this avenue. The objects around him are presented to his eye; and such as may be subservient to his use, or can gratify any of his appetites, attract his notice; he views the rest without curiosity and attention. The active efforts of the mind are few, and on most occasions languid. The desires of simple nature are few, and where a favourable climate yields almost spontaneously what suffices to gratify them, they excite no violent emotion. Hence the people of the several tribes in

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America waste their life in indolence: they will continue whole days stretched in their hammocks or seated on the earth, in perfect idleness, without changing their posture or raising their eyes from the ground, or uttering a single word. Such is their aversion from labour, that neither the hope of future good nor the apprehension of future evil can surmount it. The cravings of hunger may rouse them, but the exertions which these occasion are of short duration. They feel not the force of those powerful springs which give vigour to the movements of the mind, and urge the patient hand of industry to persevere in its efforts. Man cannot continue long in this state of feeble infancy. He was made for industry and action, and the powers of his nature, as well as the necessity of his condition, urge him to fulfil his destiny. Accordingly, among most of the American nations, especially those seated in the rigorous climates, some efforts are employed and some previous precautions taken for securing subsistence, but labour is deemed ignominious and degrading. It is only to work of a certain kind that man will deign to put his hand. The greater part is devolved entirely upon the women. One half of the community remains inactive, while the other is borne down with the multitude and variety of its occupations. Thus their industry is partial, and the foresight which regulates it is no less limited. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the chief arrangement with respect to their manner of living. They depend for their subsistence during one part of the year on fishing; during another on hunting; during a third on the produce of their agriculture. Though experience has taught them to foresee the return of those various seasons, and to make

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provision for the exigencies of each; they either want sagacity to proportion this provision to their consumption, or are so incapable of any command over their appetites, that from their inconsiderate waste they often feel the calamities of famine as severely as the rudest tribes. What they suffer one year does not augment their industry, or render them more provident to prevent similar distresses. This inconsiderable thoughtlessness about futurity, the effect of ignorance, and the cause of sloth, accompanies and characterizes man in every stage of savage life, and he is often least solicitous about supplying his wants, when the means of supplying them are most precarious, and procured with the greatest difficulty.

III. After viewing the bodily constitution of the Americans, and contemplating the powers of their minds, we are led to consider them as united together in society. The domestic state is the first and most simple form of human association. The union of the sexes among different animals is of longer or shorter duration, in proportion to the ease or difficulty of rearing their offspring. Among those tribes where the season of infancy is short, and the young soon acquire vigour or agility, no permanent union is formed. Nature commits the care of training up the offspring to the mother alone, and her tenderness without any other assistance is equal to the task. But where the state of infancy is long and helpless, and the joint assiduity of both parents is requisite in tending their feeble progeny, there a more intimate connexion takes place, and continues till the new race is grown up to full maturity. As the infancy of men is more feeble and helpless than that of any other animal, the union between

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husband and wife came early to be considered as a permanent contract. In America, even among the rudest tribes, a regular union between husband and wife was universal, and in those districts where subsistence was scanty, and the difficulty of maintaining a family was great, the man confined himself to one wife. In warmer and more fertile provinces, the inhabitants increased the number of their wives. In some countries the marriage union subsisted during life; in others it was dissolved on very slight pretexts.

But in whatever light the Americans considered the obligation of this contract, the condition of the women was equally humiliating and miserable. To despise, and to degrade, the female sex, is the characteristic of the savage state in every part of the globe. Man, proud of excelling in strength and courage, the chief marks of pre-eminence among a rude people, treats woman as an inferior, with disdain. In America the condition of the women is so peculiarly grievous, and their depression so complete, that servitude is a name too mild to describe their wretched state. A wife, among most tribes, is no better than a beast of burthen, destined to every office of labour and fatigue; while the men loiter out the day in sloth, or spend it in amusement, the women are condemned to incessant toil. Tasks are imposed on them without pity, and services are received without complacency or gratitude. Every circumstance reminds women of this mortifying inferiority. They must approach their lords with reverence, regard them as more exalted beings, and are not permitted to eat in their presence. In some districts of America this dominion is so grievous and so sensibly felt, that women, in a wild emotion of maternal tenderness, have de-

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stroyed their female children in their infancy, in order to deliver them from that intolerable bondage to which they knew they were doomed. It is owing, perhaps, in some measure, to this state of depression, that women in rude nations are far from prolific. The vigour of their constitution is exhausted by excessive fatigue, and the wants and distresses of savage life are so numerous, as to induce them to take precautions in order to prevent too rapid an increase of their progeny. Among some of the least polished tribes, whose industry and foresight do not extend so far as to make any regular provision for their own subsistence, it is a maxim not to burthen themselves with rearing more than two children; and no such numerous families as are frequent in civilized societies are to be found among men in a savage state. When twins are born, one of them is commonly abandoned, and when a mother dies while she is nursing a child, all hope of preserving its life fails, and it is buried together with her in the same grave. Thus their experience of the difficulty of training up an infant to maturity, amidst the hardship of savage life, often stifles the voice of nature among the Americans, and suppresses the strong emotions of paternal tenderness.

But though necessity compels the inhabitants of America thus to set bounds to the increase of their families, they are not deficient in affection and attachment to their offspring. As long as their progeny continue feeble and helpless, no people exceed them in tenderness and care. But in the savage state, the affection of parents ceases almost as soon as their offspring attain maturity. Little instruction fits them for that mode of life, to which they are destined. The parents, when they have

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conducted them through the helpless years of infancy, leave them afterwards at entire liberty. Even in their tender age, they seldom advise or admonish, and never chide or chastise them. They suffer them to be absolute masters of their own actions. In an American hut, a father, mother, and their posterity live together, like persons assembled by mere accident, without seeming to feel the obligation of the duties mutually arising from this connexion. Parents are not objects of greater regard than other persons. They treat them always with neglect, and often with such harshness and insolence, as to fill those who have been witnesses of their conduct with horror. Thus the ideas which seem to be natural to man in his savage state, as they result from his circumstances and condition in that period of his progress, affect the two capital relations in domestic life. They render the union between husband and wife unequal. They shorten the duration and weaken the force of the connexion between parents and children.

IV. From the domestic state of the Americans, we turn to their political institutions. All the people of America, now under review, may be comprehended under the general denomination of savage, but the advances which they had made in the art of procuring to themselves subsistence were very unequal. On the extensive plains of South America, man appears in the rudest state in which he has ever been observed, or perhaps can exist. Several tribes depend entirely upon the bounty of nature for subsistence. They discover no solicitude, they employ little foresight, they scarcely exert any industry to secure what is necessary for their support. They neither sow nor

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plant; even the culture of the *manioc*, of which the cassada bread is made, is an art too intricate for their ingenuity or too fatiguing to their indolence. What the earth produces spontaneously, supplies them with food during part of the year; and at other times they subsist by fishing, or by hunting. But the life of a hunter gradually leads man to a state more advanced. The chase affords but an uncertain maintenance. If a savage trust to his bow alone for food, he and his family will be often reduced to extreme distress. Their experience of this surmounts the abhorrence of labour natural to savage nations, and compels them to have recourse to culture as subsidiary to hunting. There is scarcely through the whole of America, a single nation of hunters which does not practise some species of cultivation.

The agriculture of the Americans is, however, neither extensive nor laborious: all they aim at is to supply the defects of fish and game. On the southern continent the natives confined their industry to rearing a few plants, which in a rich soil and warm climate were easily trained to maturity. The maize, the manioc, the plantain, the potatoe, and the pimento tree, are almost the only species of plants upon which the American tribes of hunters bestowed any care. Two circumstances common to all the savage nations of America, concurred with those already mentioned in rendering their agriculture imperfect, and in circumscribing their power in all their operations. They had no tame animals, and were unacquainted with the useful metals.

In other parts of the globe, man, in his rudest state, appears as lord of the creation, giving law to various tribes of animals which he has tamed and reduced to subjection. The Tartar follows his

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prey on the horse which he has reared; or tends his numerous herds, which furnish him both with food and clothing: the Arab has rendered his camel docile, and avails himself of its persevering strength: the Laplander has formed the rein-deer to be subservient to his will; and even the people of Kamtschatka have trained their dogs to labour. This command over the inferior creatures is one of the noblest prerogatives of man, and among the greatest efforts of his wisdom and power. Without this, his dominion is incomplete: he is a monarch who has no subjects, a master without servants, and must perform every operation by the strength of his own arm. Such was the condition of all the rude nations of America. Their reason was so little improved, or their union so incomplete, that they seem not to have been conscious of the superiority of their nature, and suffered all the animal creation to retain its liberty, without establishing their own authority over any one species. Most of the animals, indeed, which have been rendered domestic in our continent, do not exist in the New World; but those peculiar to it are neither so fierce nor so formidable as to have exempted them from servitude. There are some animals of the same species in both continents. But the rein-deer which has been tamed to the yoke in one hemisphere, runs wild in the other. The *bison* of America is manifestly of the same species with the horned cattle of the other hemisphere, and might have been rendered useful to the wants of the inhabitants. But a savage, in that uncultivated state in which the Americans were discovered, is the *enemy* of the other animals, not their *superior*. He wastes and destroys, but knows not how to multiply or to govern them. This, perhaps, is the

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most notable distinction between the inhabitants of the Ancient and New World, and a high pre-eminence of civilized men above such as continue rude. Suppose them, even when most improved, to be deprived of their useful ministry, their empire over nature must, in some measure, cease, and be incapable of such arduous undertakings as their assistance enables him to execute with ease.

It is a doubtful point, whether the dominion of man over the animal creation, or his acquiring the use of metals, has contributed most to extend his power. The æra of this important discovery is unknown, and in our hemisphere very remote. Nature completes the formation of some metals: gold, silver, and copper, are found in their perfect state in the clefts of rocks, in the sides of mountains, or in the channels of rivers. These were accordingly the metals first known, and first applied to use. But iron, the most serviceable of all, and to which man is most indebted, is never discovered in its perfect form; it must feel twice the force of fire, and go through two laborious processes before it become fit for use. All the savage tribes scattered over America were totally unacquainted with the metals which their soil produces in abundance, if we except some trifling quantity of gold. Their devices to supply this want of the serviceable metals were extremely awkward. The most simple operation was to them an undertaking of immense labour and difficulty. To fell a tree with no other instruments than hatchets of stone was employment for a month. To form a canoe into shape and to hollow it, consumed more time than is now expended in building a hundred sail of the line. Their operations in agriculture were equally slow and

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defective; and they were more indebted for the increase to the fertility of the soil than to their own industry. It is not wonderful then, that people without the assistance of tame animals should have made so little progress in cultivation,—that they must be considered as depending for subsistence on fishing and hunting, rather than on the fruits of their own labour.

From this description of the mode of subsisting among the rude American tribes, the form and genius of their political institutions may be deduced; and we are enabled to trace various circumstances of distinction between them and more civilized nations.

1. They were divided into small independent communities. While hunting is the chief source of subsistence, a vast extent of territory is requisite for supporting a small number of people. In proportion as men multiply and unite, the wild animals, on which they depend for food, diminish, or fly to a greater distance from the haunts of their enemy. The increase of a society in this state is limited by its own nature, and the members of it must either disperse or fall upon some better method of procuring food than by hunting. They cannot form into large communities, because it would be impossible to find subsistence. This was the state of the American tribes; the numbers in each were inconsiderable, though scattered over countries of large extent. In America the word *nation* is not of the same import as in other parts of the globe. It is applied to small societies not exceeding, perhaps, two or three hundred persons, but occupying provinces greater than some kingdoms of Europe. The country of Guiana, though of larger extent than France, and divided among a

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greater number of nations, did not contain more than 25,000 inhabitants. In the provinces which border on the Orinoko one may travel several hundred miles, in different directions, without finding a single hut, or observing the footsteps of a human creature. In North America, where the climate is more rigorous, and the soil less fertile, the desolation is still greater, and journies of several hundred leagues have been made through uninhabited plains and forests. As long as hunting continues to be the chief employment of man, and to which he trusts for subsistence, he can hardly be said to have occupied the earth.

2. Nations which depend upon hunting are, in a great measure, strangers to the idea of property, As the animals on which the hunter feeds are not bred under his inspection, nor nourished by his care, he can claim no right to them while they are wild in the forest. They belong alike to all; and thither, as to a general store, all repair for sustenance. The same principles by which they regulate their chief occupations extend to that which is subordinate. Even agriculture has not introduced a complete idea of property. As the men hunt, the women labour together, and after they have shared the toils of seed-time, they enjoy the harvest in common. Thus the distinctions arising from inequality of property are unknown. The terms of rich and poor enter not into their language, and being strangers to property, they are unacquainted with what is the great object of law and policy, and with the arrangements of regular government.

3. People in this state retain a high sense of equality and independence. All are freemen, all feel themselves to be such, and assert with firm-

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ness the rights which belong to that condition. Accustomed to be the absolute masters of their own conduct, they disdain to execute the orders of another; and having never known control, they will not submit to correction. Many of the Americans when they found that they were treated as slaves by the Spaniards died of grief, many destroyed themselves in despair.

4. Among people in this state, government can assume little authority, and the sense of civil subordination must remain very imperfect. While the idea of property is unknown, or incompletely conceived, while the spontaneous productions of the earth, as well as the fruits of industry, are considered as public stock, there can hardly be any such subject of difference among the members of the same community as will require the hand of authority to interpose in order to adjust it. Where the right of exclusive possession is not introduced, the great object of law and jurisdiction does not exist. When the members of a tribe are called into the field against a common enemy, they perceive that they are part of a political body. But during the intervals between such common efforts, they seem scarcely to feel the ties of political union. The names of *magistrate* and *subject* are not in use. The right of revenge is left in private hands. If violence be committed, the power of punishment belongs not to the community, but to the family or friends of the person injured or slain. The object of government among savages is rather foreign than domestic. They labour to preserve union among themselves that they may watch the motions of their enemies, and act against them with vigour and concert. Such was the form of political order established among the

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greater part of the American nations, and this description will apply, with little variation, to every people, both in its northern and southern division, who have advanced no farther in civilization than to add some slender degree of agriculture to fishing and hunting.

In the New World, as well as in other parts of the globe, cold or temperate countries appear to be the favourite seat of freedom and independence. There the mind, like the body, is firm and vigorous. These men, conscious of their own dignity, stoop with reluctance to the yoke of servitude. In warmer climates men acquiesce, almost without a struggle, in the dominion of a superior. Accordingly, proceeding from north to south along the continent of America, we shall find the power of those vested with authority gradually increasing, and the spirit of the people more tame and passive. In Florida the authority of the sachems, caziques, or chiefs, was not only permanent but hereditary. They were distinguished by peculiar ornaments, and enjoyed the prerogatives of sovereign power. Among the Natchez, a tribe now extinct, formerly situated on the banks of the Missisippi, the body of the people was considered as formed only for subjection. The great chief was reputed to be a being of a superior nature, the brother of the sun, and the sole object of their worship. His will was the law, to which all yielded implicit obedience. Nor did their dominion end with life, but their principal officers, their favourite wives, together with many domestics, were sacrificed at their tombs, that they might be attended in the next world by the same persons who served them in this: and such was the reverence in which they were held, that those victims welcomed death with

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exultation; deeming it a recompense of their fidelity, and a mark of distinction, to be selected to accompany their deceased masters. In Hispaniola, Cuba, and the larger islands, the caziques or chiefs, possessed extensive power. Their subjects executed their orders without hesitation. They delivered their mandates as the oracles of heaven, and pretended to possess the power of regulating the seasons, and of dispensing rain or sunshine, according as their subjects stood in need of them.

V. After examining the political institutions of the rude nations in America, we are next to consider their provision for public security and defence. The small tribes dispersed over America are not only independent and unconnected, but engaged in perpetual hostilities with one another. Though most are strangers to the idea of separate property vested in any individual, the rudest of the American nations are well acquainted with the rights of each community to its own dominions. This right they hold to be perfect and exclusive, entitling the possessor to oppose the encroachment of neighbouring tribes. As their territories are extensive, and the boundaries of them not exactly ascertained, innumerable subjects of dispute arise, which seldom terminate without bloodshed. Even in this simple and primitive state of society, interest is a source of discord, and often prompts savage tribes to take arms, in order to repel or punish such as encroach on the forests or plains to which they trust for subsistence. But interest is not so much the motive with savage nations to commence hostilities as the principle of revenge, which acquires a degree of force unknown among those whose passions are dissipated by the

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variety of their occupations and pursuits. The desire of vengeance, which takes possession of the heart of savages, resembles the extinctive rage of an animal rather than the passion of a man. It turns with indiscriminating fury even against inanimate objects. If struck with an arrow in battle, they will tear it from the wound, break and bite it with their teeth, and dash it on the ground. When under the dominion of this passion, man becomes the most cruel of animals. He neither pities, nor forgives, nor spares.

The force of this passion is so well understood by the Americans themselves, that they always apply to it in order to excite the people to take arms. "The bones of our countrymen," say they, "lie uncovered. Their spirits cry against us: they must be appeased. Let us go and devour the people by whom they were slain. Sit no longer inactive on your mats; lift the hatchet; console the spirits of the dead, and tell them that they shall be avenged." Animated with such exhortations, the youths raise the song of war, and burn with impatience to embrue their hands in the blood of their enemies. A leader is chosen, but no man is constrained to follow him. Each individual is still master of his own conduct, and his engagement in the service is perfectly voluntary.

The maxims by which they regulate their military operations, though extremely different from those which take place among more civilized people, are well suited to their political state, and the nature of the country in which they act. Their armies are not incumbered with baggage or military stores. Each warrior, besides his arms, carries his mat, and a small bag of pounded maize, and with these he is completely equipped for any ser-

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vice. While at a distance from the enemy's frontier, they support themselves by hunting or fishing. As they approach nearer to the territories of the nation which they intend to attack, they collect their troops and advance with greater caution. Even in their most active wars they proceed wholly by stratagem. They place no glory in attacking their enemies with open force. To surprise and destroy is the greatest merit of a commander, and the highest pride of his followers. They regard it as the extreme of folly to meet an enemy who is on his guard, upon equal terms, or to give him battle in an open field. The most distinguished success is a disgrace to a leader, if it has been purchased with any considerable loss of his followers; and they never boast of a victory, if stained with the blood of their own countrymen. To fall in battle, instead of being reckoned an honourable death, is a misfortune which subjects the memory of a warrior to the imputation of rashness and imprudence.

This system of warfare was universal in America, and the small uncivilized tribes dispersed through its different regions and climates display more craft than boldness in carrying on hostilities. But where their communities are more populous, so that they can act with considerable force, and can sustain the loss of several of their members, without being sensibly weakened, the military operations of the Americans more nearly resemble those of other nations. Though vigilance and attention are qualities chiefly requisite where the object of war is to deceive or surprise, yet, when the Americans are led into the field in parties, they can seldom be brought to observe the precautions most essential to their own security. Such is the

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difficulty of accustoming savages to subordination, or to act in concert; such is their impatience under restraint, that it is rarely they can be brought to conform themselves to the counsels and directions of their leaders. They never station sentinels around the place where they rest at night; and, after marching some hundred of miles to surprise an enemy, are often surprised themselves, and cut off, while sunk in a profound sleep, as if they were not within the reach of danger.

If they catch an enemy unprepared, they rush upon them with the utmost ferocity; and tearing off the scalps of all those who fall victims to their rage, they carry home those strange trophies in triumph. But they are still more solicitous to seize prisoners, whom, in their return, they guard from insult, and treat with humanity. As soon, however, as they approach their own frontier, some of their number are dispatched to inform their countrymen of the success of the expedition. Then the prisoners begin to feel the wretchedness of their condition. The women of the village, together with the youth who have not attained the age of bearing arms, assemble, and, forming themselves into two lines, through which the prisoners must pass, beat and bruise them with sticks or stones in a cruel manner. After this first gratification of their rage, follow lamentations for the loss of such of their countrymen as have fallen in the service, accompanied with words and actions which seem to express the utmost anguish and grief. But in a moment, on a signal being given, their tears cease, and they begin to celebrate their victory with all the wild exultations of a barbarous triumph. The fate of the prisoners remains still undecided. The old men deliberate concerning it. Some are des-

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tined to be tortured to death, in order to satiate the revenge of the conquerors; some to replace the members which the community has lost in that and former wars. They who are reserved for this milder fate, are led to the huts of those whose friends have been killed. The women meet them at the door, and, if they receive them, their sufferings are at an end. They are adopted into the family, and thenceforward are treated with all the tenderness due to a father, a brother, a husband, or a friend. But if the women refuse to accept of the prisoner who is offered to them, his doom is fixed. No power can then save him from death. Those thus devoted to death are tied to a stake, and all who are present, men, women, and children, rush upon them like furies. Every species of torture is applied that rancour or revenge can invent. Nothing sets bounds to their rage, but the fear of abridging the duration of their vengeance by hastening the death of the sufferers; and such is their cruel ingenuity in tormenting, that they often prolong this scene of anguish for several days. In spite of all they suffer, the victims continue to chant their death-song with a firm voice; boast of their own exploits; insult their tormentors, and warn them of the vengeance which awaits them on account of what they are now doing. To display undaunted fortitude in such dreadful situations is the noblest triumph of a warrior. Animated with this thought, they endure, without a groan, what seems almost impossible for human nature to sustain. They appear not only insensible of pain, but to court it: "Forbear," said an aged chief of the Iroquois, when his insults had provoked one of his tormentors to wound him with a knife, "forbear these stabs of

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your knife, and rather let me die by fire, that those dogs, your allies, from beyond the sea, may learn by my example to suffer like men."

This barbarous scene is often succeeded by one no less shocking, namely, that of eating their enemies. Human flesh was never used as common food in any country; the rancour of revenge first prompted men to this barbarous action. The fiercest tribes devoured none but prisoners taken in war, or such as they regarded as enemies. The perpetual hostilities carried on among the American tribes are productive of fatal effects: the loss of men is considerable among them, in proportion to the degree of population. Sensible of this decay, there are tribes which endeavour to recruit their national force, when exhausted, by adopting prisoners taken in war, and by this expedient prevent their total extinction. The practice, however, is not universally received. Resentment operates more powerfully among savages than considerations of policy.

But though war be the chief occupation of men in their rude state, and to excel in it their highest distinction and pride, their inferiority is always manifest when they engage in competition with polished nations. Destitute of that foresight which discerns and provides for remote events, they are strangers to union and mutual confidence, and incapable of subordination. Savage nations may astonish a disciplined enemy by their valour, but seldom prove formidable to him by their conduct; and when the contest is of long continuance, must yield to superior knowledge.

VI. The arts of rude nations unacquainted with the use of metals hardly merit any attention on their own account, but are worthy of some notice,

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as they serve to display the genius and manners of man in this stage of his progress. The first distress a savage must feel will arise from the manner in which his body is affected by the heat, or cold, or moisture, of the climate under which he lives; and his first care will be to provide some covering for his defence. In the warmer and more mild climates of America none of the rude tribes were clothed. To most of them nature had not even suggested any idea of impropriety in being altogether uncovered. Others were satisfied with some slight covering, such as decency required. But though naked, they were not unadorned.—They dressed their hair in different forms. They fastened bits of gold, or shells, or shining stones, in their ears, their noses, and cheeks. They stained their skins with great variety of figures, and spent much time, and submitted to great pain in ornamenting their persons in this fantastic manner. Vanity, however, which finds endless occupation for ingenuity and invention in nations where dress has become a complex and intricate art, is circumscribed within so narrow bounds, and is confined to so few articles among naked savages, that they are not satisfied with those simple decorations, and have a wonderful propensity to alter the natural form of their bodies, in order to render it, as they imagine, more perfect and beautiful. This practice was universal among the rudest of the American tribes, and the operations for that purpose began as soon as the infant was born. In all their attempts either to adorn or new-model their persons, it seems to have been less the object of the Americans to please, or to appear beautiful, than to give an air of dignity and terror to their aspect.

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Their regard to dress had more reference to war than to gallantry.

The next object to dress that will engage the attention of the savage, is to prepare a habitation which may afford him a shelter by day and a retreat by night. Some of the American tribes had advanced so little beyond the primeval simplicity of nature, that they had no houses at all. During the day they take shelter from the scorching rays of the sun under thick trees; at night they form a shed with their branches and leaves. In the rainy season they retire into coves formed by the hand of nature, or hollowed out by their own industry. Others sojourn in temporary huts which they erect with little labour, and abandon without concern. The inhabitants of those vast plains which are deluged with periodical rains, raise houses upon piles fastened in the ground, or place them among the boughs of trees, and are thus safe amidst that wide extended inundation which surrounds them. Such were the first essays of the rudest Americans towards providing themselves with habitations. One circumstance merits attention, as it is singular, and illustrates the character of the people. Some of their houses are so large as to afford accommodation for a hundred persons. These are built for the reception of different families which dwell together under the same roof, and often round a common fire, without separate apartments, or any kind of partition between the spaces which they respectively occupy. As soon as men have acquired distinct ideas of property, or when they are so much attached to their females as to watch them with care and jealousy, families, of course, divide and settle in separate houses, where

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they can secure and guard whatever they wish to preserve.

After making some provision for his dress and habitation, a savage will perceive the necessity of preparing proper arms with which to assault or repel an enemy. This, accordingly, has early exercised the ingenuity and invention of all rude nations. The first offensive weapons were doubtless such as chance presented, and the first attempts to improve upon these were extremely awkward and simple. Clubs and lances armed with flints and bones are weapons known to the rudest nations. But for the purpose of annoying their enemies while at a distance, the bow and arrow is the most easy invention. This weapon is familiar to the inhabitants of every quarter of the globe. Some of the tribes in America were so destitute of art and ingenuity that they had not attained to the discovery of this simple invention, and seem to have been unacqainted with the use of any missive weapon. The sling was little known to the people of North America, but in several of the provinces of Chili, and those of Patagonia, they fastened stones about the size of a fist to each end of a leathern thong eight feet in length, and, swinging these round their heads, threw them with such dexterity that they seldom missed the object at which they aimed.

Among people whose food and habitations are perfectly simple, their domestic utensils are few and rude. Some of the southern tribes had discovered the art of forming vessels of earthen ware, and baking them in the sun so that they could endure the fire. In North America, they hollowed a piece of hard wood into the form of a kettle, and filling it with water, brought it to boil by putting

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red-hot stones in it*. These vessels they used in preparing part of their provisions, and this may be considered as a step towards refinement and luxury: for in the rudest state, men were not acquainted with any method of dressing their victuals but by roasting them on the fire; and among several tribes in America this is the only species of cookery yet known. But the master-piece of art among the savages of America is in the construction of their canoes. An Esquimaux shut up in his boat of whale-bone, covered with the skin of seals, can brave that stormy ocean on which the barrenness of his country compels him to depend for the chief part of his subsistence. The people of Canada venture upon their rivers and lakes in boats made of the bark of trees, and so light that two men can carry them wherever shallows or cataracts obstruct the navigation. In these frail vessels they undertake and accomplish long voyages.

But in every attempt towards industry among the Americans, one striking quality in their character is conspicuous. They apply to work without ardour, carry it on with little activity, and, like children, are easily diverted from it. Their operations advance under the hand with such slowness, that an eye-witness compares it to the imperceptible progress of vegetation. They will suffer one part of a roof to decay and perish, before they complete the other. This slowness of the Americans may be severally imputed to the little value put

* See Goldsmith's Geography, p. 431, 1st edition. To this work we can with pleasure refer our youthful readers for accurate and entertaining descriptions of the manners, customs, and distresses of all nations in the known world, illustrated with a multitude of engravings and maps.

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upon their time, to the awkward and defective nature of their tools, and to their cold and phlegmatic temper: it is almost impossible to rouse them from that habitual indolence in which they are sunk; nothing but war and hunting can excite in them a single vigorous effort.

VII. We next come to the consideration of their religious rites and tenets, which have been imperfectly understood, and in general represented with little fidelity. There are two fundamental doctrines upon which the whole system of *natural* religion is established. These respect the being of God and the immortality of the soul. In the early and most rude periods of savage life, dispositions of this nature are entirely unknown. When the intellectual powers are just beginning to unfold, their feeble exertions are directed towards a few objects of primary necessity and use. Several tribes of America have no idea whatever of a supreme Being, and no rites of religious worship; they pass their days, like the animals around them, without knowledge or veneration of any superior power. It is, however, only in the most uncultivated state of nature that men are totally insensible to impressions of an invisible power. The human mind, to which the principles of religion are peculiarly adapted, soon opens to the reception of ideas which are destined to be the source of consolation amidst the calamities of life. Among some of the American tribes may be discerned apprehensions of some invisible and powerful beings. These seem to be suggested rather by the dread of impending evils, than to flow from gratitude for blessings received. While Nature holds on her course with uniform and undisturbed regularity, men enjoy the benefits resulting from it without inquiring concerning

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its cause. But every deviation from this regular course rouses and astonishes them: they search for the reasons of it with eager curiosity. Dejected with calamities which oppress him, and exposed to dangers which he cannot repel, the savage no longer relies upon himself; he feels his own impotence, and sees no prospect of being extricated but by the interposition of some unseen arm. Hence, in all unenlightened nations, the first rites which bear any resemblance to acts of religion have for their object to avert evils which men suffer or dread.

Among other tribes who have made great progress in improvement, may be discerned some feeble pointing towards more just and adequate conceptions of the power which presides in nature. They seem to perceive that there must be some universal cause to whom all things are indebted for their being, whom they denominate the *Great Spirit*. But their ideas are faint and confused; and the word *spirit* has a meaning with them very different from that which we assign to it. They believe their gods to be of human form, though of a nature more excellent than man, whose protection they implore when threatened with danger or oppressed with calamity. The sun was the chief object of worship among the Natchez. In their temples, which were constructed with magnificence, and decorated with various ornaments, they preserved a perpetual fire, as the purest emblem of their divinity. Ministers were appointed to watch and feed the sacred flame. To this great luminary they paid their daily devotions, and instituted in his honour stated returning festivals. This is, perhaps, the most refined species of superstition known in America, and one of the most

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natural, as well as most seducing. The sun is the apparent source of the joy, fertility, and life, diffused through nature; and while the human mind contemplates and admires his universal and animating energy, its admiration is apt to stop short at what is visible, without reaching to the unseen cause; and pays that adoration to the beneficial work of God which is due only to him who formed it.

Among the people of Bogota the sun and moon were the chief objects of veneration. Their system of religion was more complete, though less pure, than that of the Natchez. They had temples, altars, priests, sacrifices, and that long train of ceremonies which superstition introduces wherever she has fully established her dominion over the minds of men. But the rites of their worship were cruel and bloody.

With respect to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the sentiments of the Americans were more united. It may be traced from one extremity of America to the other; in some regions more faint and obscure, in others more perfectly developed, but no where unknown. The most uncivilized of its savage tribes do not apprehend death as the extinction of being. All entertain hopes of a future and more happy state, where they shall be for ever exempt from the calamities which embitter human life in its present condition. The highest place in this state they assign to the skilful hunter and successful warrior: and as they imagine that departed spirits begin their career anew in the world whither they are gone, that their friends may not enter upon it defenceless and unprovided, they bury, together with the bodies of the dead, their bow, their ar-

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rows, and other weapons used in hunting or war: they deposit in their tombs also whatever is reckoned necessary for their simple mode of life.

VIII. To form a complete idea of the uncultivated nations of America, we must not pass unobserved some singular customs which, though universal and characteristic, could not be reduced to any of the foregoing articles: such as dancing, for which savages in every part of the globe have an unbounded passion. This is not merely a pastime, but a serious and important occupation, which mingles in every occurrence of public and private life. If any intercourse be necessary between two American tribes, the ambassadors of the one approach in a solemn dance and present the calumet, or emblem of peace; the sachems of the other receive it with the same ceremony. If war is denounced against an enemy, it is by a dance, expressive of the resentment which they feel, and of the vengeance which they meditate. If the wrath of the gods is to be appeased, or their beneficence to be celebrated; if they rejoice at the birth of a child or mourn the death of a friend, they have dances appropriated to each of these situations, and suited to the different sentiments with which they are then animated. If a person is sick, a dance is prescribed as the most effectual means of restoring health; and if he cannot endure the fatigue of such exercise, the physician or conjurer performs it in his name, as if the virtue of his activity could be transfefred to his patient.

All their dances are imitations of some action; but the war dance is the most striking. It is a perfect representation of a complete American campaign: the departure of the warriors from their village, their march into the enemy's coun-

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try, the caution with which they encamp, the address with which they station some of the party in ambush, the manner of surprising the enemy, the noise and ferocity of the combat, the scalping of those who are slain, the seizing of prisoners, the triumphant return of the conquerors, and the torture of the victims, are successfully exhibited.

An immoderate love of play, especially at games of hazard, which seems natural to all people unaccustomed to the occupations of regular industry, is likewise universal among the Americans. The same cause which so often prompts persons in civilized life, who are at their ease, to have recourse to this pastime, renders it the delight of the savage. The former are independent of labour, the latter do not feel the necessity of it; and as both are unemployed, they run with transport to whatever is interesting enough to stir and to agitate their minds. Hence the Americans, who at other times are so indifferent, and animated with so few desires, as soon as they engage in play, become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their clothes, their arms, are staked at the gaming table; and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair and hope they will often risk their personal liberty upon a single cast.

From causes similar to those which render them fond of play, the Americans are extremely addicted to drunkenness. It seems to have been one of the first exertions of human ingenuity to discover some composition of an intoxicating quality, and there is hardly any nation so rude as not to have succeeded in this fatal research. The most barbarous of the American tribes have been so unfortunate as to attain this art. Accordingly,

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whatever be the occasion or pretext on which the Americans assemble, the meeting always terminates in a debauch. Many of their festivals have no other object; and they welcome the return of them with transports of joy. Their eagerness for present enjoyment renders them blind to its fatal consequences; and when their passions are inflamed by drink they are frequently guilty of the most enormous outrages, and the festivity rarely concludes without deeds of violence or bloodshed.

It were endless to enumerate all the detached customs which have excited the wonder of travellers in America: one more, however, must be mentioned. When parents and other relations become old, or labour under any distemper which their slender knowledge of the healing art cannot remove, the Americans cut short their days with a violent hand, in order to be relieved from the burthen of supporting and attending them. The same hardships and difficulty of procuring subsistence, which deter savages in some cases from rearing their children, prompt them to destroy the aged and infirm. This is not regarded as a deed of cruelty, but as an act of mercy. An American broken with years and infirmities, conscious that he can no longer depend on the aid of those around him, places himself contentedly in his grave; and it is by the hands of his children or nearest relations that the thong is pulled, or the blow inflicted, which releases him for ever from the sorrows of life.

IX. After contemplating the rude American tribes in such various lights, it only remains to form a general estimate of their character, compared with that of more polished nations. A human being, as he comes originally from the hands of his maker, is every where the same. The capacity for

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improvement seems to be the same, and his future talents and virtues depend, in a great measure, upon the state of society in which he is placed. To this state his mind naturally accommodates itself, and from it receives discipline and culture. In proportion to the wants which it accustoms a human being to feel, and the functions in which these engage him, his intellectual powers are called forth. According to the connexions which it establishes between him and the rest of his species, the affections of his heart are exerted. It is only by attending to this great principle, that we can discover what is the character of man in every different period of his progress. In savage life, of course, the intellectual powers of man must be extremely limited in their operations. They are confined within the narrow sphere of what he deems necessary for supplying his wants. But the knowledge to which he does attain he possesses completely; it is the fruit of his own experience, and accommodated to his condition and exigencies. While employed in the active occupations of war and hunting, he often finds himself in difficult and perilous situations, from which the efforts of his own sagacity must extricate him. He must rely solely upon his own penetration to discern the dangers to which he is exposed, and upon his own wisdom in providing against them. Hence in deliberation and action he rests on himself alone.

As the talents of individuals are exercised and improved by such exertions, much political wisdom is said to be displayed in conducting the affairs of their small communities. The council of old men in an American tribe deliberating upon its interests, has been compared to the senate in more polished republics. The proceedings of the for-

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mer are often no less formal and sagacious than those of the latter. Much address and eloquence are employed by the leaders, who aspire at acquiring such confidence with their countrymen as to have an ascendant in their assemblies. But among savage tribes, the field for displaying political talents cannot be extensive. They have neither foresight nor temper to form complicated arrangements with respect to their future conduct. The strongest feeling in the mind of a savage is a sense of his own independence. He has sacrificed so small a portion of his natural liberty by becoming a member of society, that he remains in a great degree the sole master of his own actions. In many of his operations he stands as much detached from the rest of his species as if he had formed no union with them. He pursues his own career and indulges his own fancy, without inquiring or regarding whether they may derive benefit or receive hurt from it. Hence the ungovernable caprice of savages, their impatience under any species of restraint, the scorn with which they receive advice, their high estimation of themselves, and their contempt of other men. Among them the pride of independence produces almost the same effects with interestedness in a more advanced state of society; it refers every thing to a man himself, and renders the gratification of his own wishes the measure and end of his conduct.

To the same cause may be imputed the hardness of heart and insensibility remarkable in all savage nations. Their minds, roused only by strong emotions, are little susceptible of gentle, delicate, or tender affections. Taciturnity and cunning are to be traced to the same cause. Impenetrably secret in forming their measures, the rude tribes of

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America pursue them with a patient undeviating attention, and there is no refinement of dissimulation which they cannot employ in order to insure success. The natives of Peru were engaged above thirty years in concerting the plan of that insurrection which took place under the vice-royalty of the marquis de Villa Garcia; and though it was communicated to a great number of persons in every different rank, no indication of it ever transpired during that long period; no man betrayed his trust, or gave rise, by look or word, to any suspicion of what was intended.

But if there be defects or vices peculiar to the savage state, there are likewise virtues which it inspires, and good qualities to the exercise of which it is friendly. The bonds of society sit so loose upon the members of the more rude American tribes, that they scarcely feel any restraint. Hence the spirit of independence and fortitude which are the pride of a savage, and which he considers as the unalienable prerogative of man. In no situation does the human mind rise more superior to the sense of danger or the dread of death, than in its most simple and uncultivated state. Another virtue remarkable among savages is attachment to the community of which they are members, and perfect satisfaction with their own condition. On this account they have no inclination to relinquish their own habits, or to adopt those of civilized life. The transition is too violent to be suddenly made. Even where endeavours have been used to wean a savage from his own customs, and to render the accommodations of polished society familiar to him, he droops and languishes under the restraint of laws and forms; he seizes the first opportunity of breaking loose from them, and returns with

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transport to the forest or the wild, where he can enjoy a careless and uncontrolled freedom.

Such are the manners and character of the uncivilized tribes scattered over the vast continent of America. In surveying these rude nations, a natural distinction is observable between the inhabitants of the temperate and torrid zones. They may be divided into two great classes. The one comprehends all the North Americans from the river St. Laurence to the Gulf of Mexico, together with the people of Chili, and a few small tribes towards the extremity of the southern continent. To the other belong all the inhabitants of the islands, and those settled in the various provinces which extend from the Isthmus of Darien almost to the southern confines of Brasil, along the east side of the Andes. In the former, which comprehends the regions of the temperate zone, the human species appear manifestly to be more perfect. The natives are more robust, more active, more intelligent, and more courageous. They have defended their liberty with persevering fortitude against the Europeans, who subdued the other rude nations of America with the greatest ease. The natives of the temperate zone are the only people in the New World who are indebted for their freedom to their valour. The North Americans, though long encompassed by three formidable European powers, still retain part of their original possessions, and continue to exist as independent nations. The people of Chili, though early invaded, still maintain a gallant contest with the Spaniards, and have set bounds to their encroachments; whereas, in the warmer regions, men are more feeble in their frame, less vigorous in the efforts of their mind, more enslaved by pleasure, and more sunk

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in indolence. Accordingly in the torrid zone the Europeans have most completely established their dominion in America.

Conspicuous as this distinction may appear between the inhabitants of those different regions, it is not universal. There are some tribes in the torrid zone hardly inferior to the natives of more temperate climates. Thus this law of climate, more universal, perhaps, in its operation than any that affects the human species, cannot be applied, in judging of their conduct, without many exceptions.

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CHAP. IV.

History of the Conquest of New Spain. Hernando Cortes has the Command of the Expedition. Velasquez's Jealousy. Battle with, and Victory over, the Indians. Cortes lands at St. Juan de Ulua. Receives Officers from Montezuma. Presents brought from the Prince. Marches to Mexico. Tradition of the Mexicans. Grandeur of the City. Cortes makes Montezuma Prisoner. Cruel Death of his Son. Acknowledges himself Vassal of the King of Castile. Attempts to convert him to Christianity. Orders Cortes to depart. Narvaez sent to seize Cortes. Fights. Is conquered and taken Prisoner. The Mexicans attack Cortes. Montezuma's Disgrace and Death. Spaniards retreat from Mexico with great Loss. New Resources arrive. March again to Mexico. Quetlavaca dies of the Small-pox. Cortes lays siege to and takes Mexico. Takes the King. Tortures him to find his Wealth. Cortes appointed Governor-General of New Spain. Lays the Foundation of a magnificent City. His savage Cruelty to the conquered Mexicans. Returns to Spain. Ennobled. Goes back to America. Discovers California. Returns to Spain. Is neglected. Dies.

WHEN Grijalva returned to Cuba, he found the armament destined to attempt the conquest of that rich country which he had discovered almost complete. Not only ambition but avarice had urged Velasquez to hasten his preparations; and having such a prospect of gratifying both, he

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had advanced considerable sums out of his private fortune towards defraying the expense of the expedition. He exerted his influence as governor in engaging the most distinguished persons in the colony to undertake the service. A number of soldiers were found eager to embark in any daring enterprise, but it was not so easy to find a person qualified to take the command in an expedition of such great importance. At length, after much deliberation, Hernando Cortes was pitched on for the purpose. He had not hitherto acted in high command, but had displayed such qualities in several scenes of difficulty and danger as raised universal expectation, and turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as one capable of performing great things. Neither the rank nor fortune of Cortes was such as to create sentiments of jealousy in the breast of Velasquez. He received his commission with gratitude, and immediately erected his standard before his own house. He soon after set sail from St. Jago de Cuba, and proceeded to Trinidad, a small settlement on the same side of the island, where he was joined by a multitude of adventurers, and received a supply of provisions and military stores. From Trinidad he sailed for the Havanna, in order that he might raise more soldiers, and complete the victualling of his fleet. While he was at this place Velasquez formed a plan of taking the command out of the hands of Cortes, of whom he became violently jealous. Cortes, forewarned of his danger, took precautions for his own safety. He appealed to his troops, whether the honour of their general, and their sanguine hopes of wealth and glory, ought to be sacrificed to the illiberal insinuations and groundless jealousies of Velasquez. With one voice they en-

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treated that he would not abandon the important station to which he had so good a title, offering, at the same time, to shed in his behalf the last drop of their blood. Cortes was easily induced to comply with what he himself so ardently wished. He swore that he would never desert soldiers who had given him such a signal proof of their attachment, and promised instantly to conduct them to that rich country, which had been so long the object of their thoughts and wishes. This declaration was received with transports of military applause, accompanied with imprecations against all who should presume to call in question the jurisdiction of their general, or to obstruct the execution of his designs.

With a slender and ill-provided train did Cortes set sail, to make war upon a monarch whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown. As religious enthusiasm always mingled with the spirit of adventure in the New World, and united with avarice in prompting the Spaniards to all their enterprises, a large cross was displayed in their standards, with this inscription: "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer." As Cortes had determined to touch at every place which Grijalva had visited, he steered directly towards the island of Cozumel; there he had the good fortune to redeem Jerome de Aguilar, a Spaniard, who had been eight years a prisoner among the Indians, and who proved hereafter extremely useful as an interpreter. From Cozumel, Cortes proceeded to the river Tabasco; but after repeated endeavours to conciliate the good-will of the inhabitants, he was constrained to have recourse to violence. The forces of the enemy were numerous; and though

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they advanced with extraordinary courage, they were routed with great slaughter in several successive actions. The loss which they sustained, and the terror excited by the destructive effect of the firearms, and the dreadful appearance of the horses, humbled their fierce spirits, and induced them to sue for peace. They acknowledged the king of Castile as their sovereign, and granted Cortes a supply of provisions, with a present of cotton garments, some gold, and twenty female slaves.

Cortes continued his course to the westward, but could discover no proper place for landing until he arrived at St. Juan de Ulua, by the inhabitants of which he was addressed in a most respectful manner, but in a language altogether unknown to Aguilar. Cortes was in the utmost perplexity and distress at an event of which he instantly foresaw the consequences: a fortunate accident, however, extricated him. One of the female slaves whom he had received from the cazique of Tabasco perfectly understood the Mexican language, and explained what had been said in the Yucatan tongue, with which Aguilar was acquainted. This woman, known afterwards by the name of Donna Marina, was born in a Mexican province, and having been sold as a slave in the early part of her life, fell into the hands of the Tabascans, and had resided long enough among them to acquire their language, without losing the use of her own. From her Cortes learned that the two persons whom he had received on board his ship were deputies from Teutile and Pilpatoe, officers intrusted with the government of that province by a great monarch whom they called Montezuma, and that they were sent to inquire what his intentions were in visiting their coast, and

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to offer him what assistance he might need, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes, struck with the appearance of those people as well as the tenor of the message, assured them that he approached their country with the most friendly sentiments, and came to propose matters of great importance to the welfare of their prince and his kingdom, which he would unfold more fully in person to the governor and general. Next morning he landed his troops, his horses, and artillery. The natives, instead of opposing the entrance of these fatal guests into their country, assisted them in all their operations with an alacrity of which they had soon reason to repent.

A. D. 1519. When the Mexican ministers entered the Spanish camp, Cortes received them with much formal ceremony, assuring them that his business with the monarch was of so high importance, that he could impart it to none but the sovereign himself. This they knew would be extremely disagreeable to Montezuma: in hopes therefore of being able to dissuade the Spaniards from their purpose, they brought a great quantity of cotton cloth, plumes of various colours, and ornaments of gold and silver to a considerable value. The display of these produced a very different effect from what the Mexicans intended. Cortes insisted upon a personal interview with their sovereign, which they endeavoured by every means in their power to prevent. During this interview, some painters in the train of the Mexican chiefs had been diligently employed in delineating, upon white cotton cloths, figures of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, and whatever else attracted their eyes as singular. As soon as Cortes knew that these pictures were to be sent to Montezuma, he resolved to render the re-

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presentation more animated and interesting, by exhibiting such a spectacle as might give both them and their monarch an awful impression of the prowess of his followers, and the irresistible force of their arms. The trumpets sounded, the troops formed in order of battle, the artillery, pointed towards the thick woods which surrounded the camp, were fired, and made dreadful havock among the trees. The Mexicans looked on with silent amazement; but at the explosion of the cannon many of them fled, some fell to the ground, and all were so confounded at the sight of men whose power so nearly resembled that of the gods, that Cortes found it difficult to compose and reanimate them.

Messengers were immediately dispatched to Montezuma with the pictures, and a full account of every thing that had passed since the arrival of the Spaniards, and with presents from Cortes. Though the capital in which Montezuma resided was 180 miles from St. Juan de Ulua, the news was carried and an answer received in a few days. Another negociation was set on foot, which was commenced by introducing a hundred Indians loaded with presents, sent to him by Montezuma. The magnificence of those far exceeded any idea which the Spaniards had hitherto formed of his wealth. They were spread on mats, and exhibited to the greatest advantage. Cortes and his officers viewed with admiration the various manufactures of the country, cotton stuffs so fine and of a texture so delicate as to resemble silk, pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colours, disposed and mingled with such skill and elegance as to rival the works of the pencil, in truth and beauty of

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imitation: but what chiefly attracted their admiration were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. These were accompanied with bracelets, collars, rings, and other trinkets of gold; and, that nothing might be wanting that could give the Spaniards a complete idea of what the country afforded, with some boxes filled with pearls, precious stones, and grains of gold wrought, or as they had been found in the mines or rivers. Cortes received all these with an appearance of profound veneration for the monarch by whom they were bestowed; but when he was informed that it was Montezuma's intention that foreign troops should not approach nearer to his capital, he declared, in a resolute and peremptory tone, that he could not, without dishonour, return to his own country until he was admitted into the presence of the prince whom he was appointed to visit in the name of his sovereign.

We cannot enter into a detail of all the minute circumstances which attended the negociation. By consummate address Cortes made himself absolute and independent of the governor of Cuba: he then alienated from Montezuma several of the petty states, with their caziques; others he fought, conquered, and attached to himself by force of arms. By degrees he marched up the country, and with the addition of the natives he found himself at the head of a large army, consisting of several thousand persons.

When they drew near the city, about a thousand persons, who appeared to be of distinction, came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes, and clad in mantles of fine cotton. Each of these, in his order, passed by Cortes, and saluted him in the

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most respectful manner. They announced the approach of Montezuma himself, and soon after the harbingers came in sight. There appeared first two hundred persons in an uniform dress, marching two and two, in deep silence, barefooted, with their eyes fixed to the ground. These were followed by a company of higher rank in their most showy apparel, in the midst of whom was Montezuma, in a litter richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of various colours. Four of his principal favourites carried him on their shoulders, others supported a canopy of curious workmanship over his head. Before him marched three officers with rods of gold in their hands, which they lifted up on high at certain intervals; and at that signal all the people bowed their heads and hid their faces, as unworthy to look on so great a monarch. When he drew near, Cortes dismounted, advancing towards him with officious haste, and in a respectful posture. At the same time Montezuma alighted from his chair, and, leaning on the arms of two of his near relations, approached with a slow and stately pace, his attendants covering the street with cotton cloths, that he might not touch the ground. Cortes accosted him with profound reverence, after the European fashion. He returned the salutation according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand and then kissing it. Nothing material passed in this first interview. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters that he had prepared for his reception, and took leave of him, saying, "You are now with your brothers in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The first care of Cortes was to take precautions for his security, by planting the artillery

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so as to command the different avenues which led to the place allotted for their reception, by appointing a large division of his troops to be always on guard, and by posting sentinels at proper stations, with injunctions to observe the same vigilant discipline as if they were within sight of an enemy's camp.

In the evening Montezuma returned to visit his guests, and brought presents of such value as proved the liberality of the monarch to be suitable to the opulence of his kingdom. A long conference ensued, in which Montezuma told him that it was an established tradition among the Mexicans, that their ancestors came originally from a remote region, and conquered the provinces now subject to his dominion; that after they were settled there, the great captain who conducted this colony returned to his own country, promising that at some future period his descendants should visit them, assume the government, and reform their constitution and laws; that from what he had heard and seen of Cortes and his followers, he was convinced that they were the very persons whose appearance the Mexican traditions and prophecies taught them to expect; and accordingly he had received them not as strangers, but as relations of the same blood and parentage, and desired that they might consider themselves as masters in his dominions, as both he and his subjects should be ready to comply with their will. Cortes made a reply in his usual style, and the next day he and some of his principal attendants were admitted again to an audience of the emperor. The three subsequent days were employed in viewing the city, the appearance of which, so far superior in the order of its buildings and the number of its

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inhabitants to any place the Spaniards had beheld in America, and yet so little resembling the structure of an European city, filled them with surprise and admiration.

But how much soever the novelty of various objects might amuse or astonish the Spaniards, they felt the utmost solicitude with respect to their own situation. From a concurrence of circumstances, no less unexpected than favourable to their progress, they had been allowed to penetrate into the heart of a powerful kingdom, and were now lodged in its capital. They had been warned by their new allies of trusting to Montezuma; and now they felt the danger to which they were exposed. After revolving the matter with deep attention, Cortes fixed upon a plan no less extraordinary than daring. He determined to seize Montezuma in his palace, and to carry him prisoner to the Spanish quarters. He communicated his plan to his principal officers, and found means almost instantly to put it into execution. Thus was a powerful prince seized by a few strangers in the midst of his capital at noonday; and though his own soldiers and people broke out into transports of rage, yet upon seeing Montezuma cheerful and contented, they quietly dispersed. History contains nothing parallel to this event, either with respect to the temerity of the attempt, or the success of the execution.

Montezuma was received in the Spanish quarters with great ceremonious respect; he was attended by his own domestics, and served with his usual state. His principal officers had free access to him, and he carried on every function of government as if he had been at perfect liberty. The Spaniards, however, watched him with scrupulous vigilance, endeavouring at the same time to sooth

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and reconcile him to his situation by every external demonstration of regard and attachment. But from captive princes the hour of humiliation and suffering is never far distant. Qualpopoca his son, and five of the principal officers who served under him, were brought prisoners to the capital in consequence of the orders which Montezuma had issued. The emperor gave them up to Cortes, who caused them to be tried by a Spanish court-martial; and though they had acted no other part than what became loyal subjects and brave men, in opposing the invaders of their country, they were condemned to be burnt alive. The execution of such atrocious deeds is seldom long suspended. The unhappy victims were instantly led forth. The pile on which they were laid was composed of the weapons collected in the royal magazine for public defence.—But these were not the most shocking indignities which the Mexicans had to bear. Just before Qualpopoca was led out to suffer, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma followed by some officers, and a soldier carrying a pair of fetters, and, approaching the monarch with a stern countenance, told him that he had been the cause of the outrage committed, and that it was necessary he should make atonement for that guilt; then turning abruptly, without waiting for a reply, commanded the soldier to clap the fetters on his legs. The orders were instantly executed. The disconsolate monarch, considering this as a prelude to his own death, broke out into lamentations and complaint. His attendants, struck with horror, fell at his feet, bathing them with their tears; and, bearing up the fetters in their hands, endeavoured, with officious tenderness, to lighten their pressure. Nor did

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their grief abate, until Cortes returned from the execution, and with a cheerful countenance ordered the fetters to be taken off.

The rigour with which Cortes punished the unhappy persons who first presumed to lay violent hands upon his followers, seems to have made all the impression that he desired. The spirit of Montezuma was not only overawed but subdued. Such was the dread which both the monarch and his subjects had of the Spaniards, that no attempt was made to deliver their sovereign from confinement. Thus, by the fortunate temerity of Cortes, the Spaniards at once secured to themselves more extensive authority in the Mexican empire than it was possible to have acquired in a long course of time by open force, and they exercised more absolute sway in the name of Montezuma than they could have done in their own. Of this power Cortes availed himself to the utmost: he appointed commissioners, who were accompanied by some Mexicans of distinction, to survey the empire, and to prepare the minds of the people for submitting to the Spaniards; and in the end he persuaded Montezuma to yield to the lowest point of degradation, by acknowledging himself a vassal of the king of Castile, and by subjecting his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. The fallen monarch, at the desire of Cortes, accompanied this profession of fealty and homage with a magnificent present to his new sovereign; and, after his example, his subjects brought in very liberal contributions. The Spaniards now collected all their treasure together; and having melted the gold and silver, the value of which, without including the jewels, amounted to much more than one hundred thousand pounds sterling, the soldiers were impa-

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tient to have it divided; and Cortes complied with their desire. A fifth part was set apart for the king, another fifth was allotted to Cortes, as commander in chief. The sums advanced by Velasquez, by Cortes, and by some of the officers, towards defraying the expense of fitting out the armament, were then deducted. The remainder was divided among the army in proportion to their different ranks. After all the defalcations, the share of a private man did not exceed twenty pounds; a sum so much below their expectations, that several of the soldiers rejected it with scorn, and others murmured so loudly at this cruel disappointment of their hopes, that it required all the address of Cortes to appease them.

Cortes had frequently urged Montezuma to renounce his false gods and to embrace Christianity; which he rejected with indignation. The Mexicans adhered tenaciously to their mode of worship, which was ever accompanied with such order and solemnity as to render it an object of the highest veneration. Cortes, finding all his attempts ineffectual to shake the constancy of Montezuma, was so much enraged at his obstinacy, that in a transport of zeal he led out his soldiers to throw down the idols in the temple by force. But the priests taking arms in defence of their altars, and the people crowding with great ardour to support them, Cortes's prudence overruled his zeal, and induced him to desist from his rash attempt, after dislodging the idols from one of the shrines, and placing in their stead an image of the Virgin Mary.

From that time the Mexicans began to meditate how they might expel or destroy the Spaniards, and thought themselves called upon to avenge their insulted deities. The priests and

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leading men held frequent consultations with Montezuma for this purpose. But as it might prove fatal to the captive monarch to attempt either the one or the other by violence, he was willing to try more gentle means. Having called Cortes into his presence, he observed, that now, as all the purposes of his embassy were fully accomplished, the gods had declared their will, and the people signified their desire, that he and his followers should instantly depart out of the empire. With this he required them to comply, or unavoidable destruction would fall suddenly on their heads. Cortes, perceiving that avowed opposition might ruin him, replied with seeming composure, that he had already begun to prepare for returning to his own country, but that time was necessary for building other ships. This appeared reasonable, and the Mexicans afforded them assistance in cutting down timber for the purpose. Cortes flattered himself that during this interval he might either find means to avert the threatened danger, or receive such reinforcements as would enable him to despise it.

A. D. 1520. Nine months had elapsed since he had dispatched messengers to Spain; and he daily expected their return with a confirmation of his authority from the king. While he was reflecting on the danger to which he was exposed, a fleet arrived; but it was what he least wished for: it was from Velasquez, who had given the command of it to Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers; to send them prisoners to him, and then complete the discovery and conquest of the country in his name. Cortes, aware of the dangers which presented themselves on all sides, endeavoured to accommodate matters with Narvaez; who treated his overtures with contempt, holding it impossible

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that Cortes should be able to resist his power. Presumption always leads to mischievous consequences; in the present instance it gave Cortes a complete victory over his enemies. Narvaez was wounded, made prisoner, and thrown into fetters; his army capitulated, and quietly submitted to their conquerors.

This signal victory proved more acceptable, as it was gained almost without bloodshed; only two soldiers were killed on the side of Cortes. He treated the vanquished not like enemies, but as countrymen and friends, and offered either to send them back to Cuba, or to take them into his service as partners in his fortune, on equal terms with his own soldiers. This latter proposition they almost all closed with, and seemed to vie with each other in professions of fidelity and attachment to a general, whose recent success had given them such a striking proof of his abilities for command. Thus, by a series of events no less fortunate than uncommon, Cortes not only escaped from perdition, which seemed inevitable, but when he least of all expected it, was placed at the head of a thousand Spaniards, ready to follow wherever he should lead them.

This seasonable addition to his army had but just time to enrol themselves under their new leader, before the Mexicans, wearied of their oppressors, attacked them in all quarters. Several times, indeed, were they beaten with prodigious slaughter, but fresh men rushed forward to occupy the places of the slain, who meeting with the same fate were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager for vengeance. The utmost effort of Cortes's abilities and experience, seconded by the disciplined valour of his troops, was scarcely sufficient to defend the fortifications that surrounded the post where the

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Spaniards were stationed, into which the enemy were more than once on the point of forcing their way.

Cortes beheld with wonder the implacable ferocity of a people who seemed at first to submit tamely to the yoke, and had continued so long passive under it. The force of the Mexicans was greatly augmented by fresh troops which poured in continually from the country, and their animosity was in no degree abated. They were led by their nobles, inflamed by the exhortations of their priests, and fought in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods, and in presence of their wives and children. After a day of incessant exertion, though vast numbers of the Mexicans were killed, and part of the city burnt, the Spaniards were obliged to retire, with the mortification of having accomplished nothing so decisive as to compensate the unusual calamity of having twelve soldiers killed and above sixty wounded. Another sally made with greater force, was not more effectual, and in it the general himself was wounded in the hand.

Cortes now perceived, too late, the fatal error into which he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans, and was satisfied that he could neither maintain his present station in the centre of an hostile city, nor retire from it without the most imminent danger. One resource still remained, to try what effect the interposition of Montezuma might have to sooth or overawe his subjects. When the Mexicans approached next morning to renew the assault, that unfortunate prince, at the mercy of the Spaniards, and reduced to the sad necessity of becoming the instrument of his own disgrace and of the slavery of his people, ad-

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vanced to the battlements in his royal robes, and with all the pomp in which he used to appear on solemn occasions. At the sight of their sovereign, whom they had been accustomed to revere as a god, the weapons dropped from their hands, every tongue was silent, all bowed their heads, and many prostrated themselves on the ground. Montezuma addressed them with every argument that could mitigate their rage, or persuade them to cease from hostilities. When he had ended his discourse, a sullen murmur of disapprobation ran through the ranks: to this succeeded reproaches and threats: and the fury of the multitude rising in a moment above every restraint of decency or respect, flights of arrows and volleys of stones poured in so violently upon the ramparts, that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to cover Montezuma with their bucklers, had time to lift them in his defence, two arrows wounded the unhappy monarch, and a blow of a stone on his temple struck him to the ground.

On seeing him fall, the Mexicans passed in a moment from one extreme to the other; remorse succeeded to insult, and they fled with horror, as if the vengeance of heaven were pursuing the crime which they had committed. The Spaniards without molestation, carried Montezuma to his apartment, and Cortes hastened thither to console him under his misfortune: but he indignantly refused the comfort which was ministered; he scorned to survive his last humiliation, and to protract an ignominious life. In a transport of rage he tore the bandage from his wounds, and refused with such obstinacy to take any nourishment, that he soon ended his days, rejecting with disdain all the solicitations of the Spaniards to embrace the Christian faith.

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Upon the death of Montezuma, Cortes, having lost all hope of bringing the Mexicans to an accommodation, saw no prospect of safety but in attempting a retreat, and began to prepare for it. A sudden motion, however, of the Mexicans engaged him in new conflicts. They took possession of a high tower in the great temple which overlooked the Spanish quarters, and placing there a garrison of their principal warriors, not a Spaniard could stir without being exposed to their missile weapons. From this post it was necessary to dislodge them at any risk, and Juan de Escobar, with a numerous detachment of chosen soldiers, was ordered to make the attack. He was thrice repulsed; which when Cortes perceived, he rushed himself with his drawn sword into the thickest of the combatants. Encouraged by the presence of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge, and drove the Mexicans to the platform at the top of the tower. There a dreadful carnage began; when two young Mexicans of high rank, observing Cortes as he animated his soldiers, resolved to sacrifice their own lives in order to cut off the author of all the calamities which desolated their country. They approached him in a suppliant posture, as if they had intended to lay down their arms, and, seizing him in a moment, hurried him towards the battlements, over which they threw themselves headlong, in hopes of dragging him along with them to be dashed in pieces by the same fall. But Cortes, by his strength and agility, broke loose from their grasp, and the gallant youths perished in this generous though unsuccessful attempt to save their country. As soon as the Spaniards became masters of the tower they set fire to it, and without further molestation continued the preparations for their retreat.

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When the necessary preparations were made, they began to move, towards midnight, in three divisions. Sandoval led the van; Pedro Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon had the conduct of the rear; and Cortes commanded in the centre, where he placed the prisoners, among whom were a son and two daughters of Montezuma, the artillery, the baggage, and a portable bridge of timber, intended to be laid over the breaches in the causeway. They reached the first breach in it without molestation, hoping that their retreat was undiscovered. But the Mexicans had watched all their motions with attention, and had made proper dispositions for a most formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridge * in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horses and artillery along it, they were suddenly alarmed with the tremendous sound of warlike instruments, and a general shout from an innumerable multitude of enemies: the lake was covered with canoes, flights of arrows and showers of stones poured in upon them from every quarter; the Mexicans rushed forward to the charge with fearless impetuosity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged of all their wrongs. The Spaniards, unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confusion was universal; horse and foot, officers and soldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all fought, and many fell, they could hardly distinguish from what hand the blow came.

Cortes, with about a hundred foot soldiers and a few horse, forced his way over the remaining breaches in the causeway, and reached the main land; and having formed them as soon as they

* The city of Mexico was built in the midst of a lake.

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arrived, he returned with such as were capable of service to assist his friends in their retreat. He met with part of his soldiers who had broken through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake: and heard the piteous lamentations of others whom the Mexicans, having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war. Before day, all who had escaped assembled at Tacuba; but when the morning dawned, and discovered to the view of Cortes his shattered battalions, his soul was pierced with such anguish, that while he was forming their ranks, and issuing some necessary orders, his soldiers observed tears trickling from his eyes, and remarked, with much satisfaction, that while attentive to the duties of a general he was not insensible to the feelings of a man.

In this fatal retreat many officers of distinction perished; all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were lost; the greater part of the horses and above two thousand of their Tlascalan allies were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure which they had amassed was saved. Some interval of tranquillity was now absolutely necessary; not only that the Spaniards might give attention to the cure of their wounds, but in order to recruit their strength, exhausted by such a long succession of fatigue and hardships. During this period Cortes was not idle; he was considering of measures for retrieving his misfortunes. He drew a small supply of ammunition and two or three field-pieces from his stores at Vera Cruz. He dispatched an officer with four ships of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica to engage adventurers, and to purchase horses, gunpowder, and

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other military stores. As he knew it would be vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico unless he could secure the command of the lake, he gave orders to prepare materials for building twelve brigantines, so that they might be carried thither in pieces ready to be put together, and launched when he stood in need of them.

While he was taking those necessary steps towards the execution of his measures, the spirit of discontent and mutiny broke out in his own army; they were unwilling to hazard the dangers of another campaign. The utmost he was able to effect was to prevail with them to defer their departure, for which they loudly called, for some time, on a promise that he would, at a more proper juncture, dismiss such as should desire it. At this juncture, two small ships arrived from Cuba with men and military stores; these had been sent by the governor to Narvaez, whose success against Cortes appeared to Velasquez as certain. The officer whom Cortes had appointed to command on the coast artfully decoyed them into the harbour of Vera Cruz, seized the vessels, and easily persuaded the soldiers to follow the standard of a more able leader than him whom they had been destined to join. Soon after, three ships of more considerable force came into the harbour. These belonged to an armament fitted out by Francisco de Gary, governor of Jamaica, who hoped to divide with Cortes the glory and gain of annexing the empire of New Spain to the crown of Castile. The men belonging to these ships abandoned also the master whom they were bound to serve, and enlisted under Cortes. Nor was it America alone that furnished such unexpected aid. A ship arrived from Spain, freighted by some private merchants, with mili-

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tary stores, in hopes of a profitable market in a country, the fame of whose opulence began to spread over Europe. Cortes eagerly purchased a cargo, which to him was invaluable, and the crew, following the general example, joined his army.

From these various quarters the army of Cortes was augmented with a hundred and eighty men and twenty horses; and it is not a little remarkable, that the two persons chiefly instrumental in furnishing him with supplies should be an avowed enemy who aimed at his destruction, and an envious rival who wished to supplant him. Having dismissed such of Narvaez's soldiers as remained with reluctance, he was able to muster 550 infantry, 40 horsemen, and a train of nine field-pieces. At the head of these, accompanied by 10,000 Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, Cortes began his march towards Mexico on the 28th of December, six months after his disastrous retreat from that city.

Nor did he advance to attack an enemy unprepared to receive him. Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, had instantly raised his brother Quetlavaca to the throne, a man distinguished for his courage and capacity. He repaired what the Spaniards had ruined in the city, and strengthened it with such new fortifications as the skill of his subjects was capable of erecting. He summoned the people in every province of the empire to take arms against their oppressors, and, as an encouragement to exert themselves with vigour, he promised them an exemption from all the taxes which his predecessors had imposed. While this prince was arranging his plan of defence with a degree of foresight uncommon to an American,

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his days were cut short by the small-pox. This distemper, which raged at that time in New Spain with fatal malignity, was unknown in that quarter of the globe until it was introduced by the Europeans, and may be reckoned among the greatest calamities brought upon them by their invaders. In his stead the Mexicans raised to the throne Guatimozin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, a young man of such high reputation for abilities and valour, that in this dangerous crisis his countrymen, with one voice, called him to the supreme command.

During the siege, which was long, and attended with heavy loss on both sides, the Mexicans, in their own defence, displayed valour which was hardly inferior to that with which the Spaniards attacked them. On land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict succeeded to another. Once the Spaniards committed an error, which Guatimozin instantly discerned, and prepared to take advantage of. On a signal which he gave, the priests in the principal temple struck the great drum consecrated to the god of war. No sooner did the Mexicans hear its doleful solemn sound, calculated to inspire them with contempt of death and enthusiastic ardour, than they rushed upon the enemy with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to resist men urged on no less by religious fury than hope of success, began to retire at first leisurely; but as the enemy pressed on, and their own impatience to escape increased, the terror and confusion became so general, that when they arrived at the gap of the causeway, Spaniards, Tlascalans, horsemen and infantry, plunged in promiscuously, while the Mexicans rushed upon them fiercely from every side. In vain did Cortes at-

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tempt to stop and rally his flying troops; fear rendered them regardless of his entreaties or commands. Finding all his endeavours to renew the combat fruitless, his next care was to save some of those who had thrown themselves into the water; but while thus employed, with more attention to their situation than to his own safety, six Mexican captains suddenly laid hold of him, and were hurrying him off in triumph; and though two of his officers rescued him at the expense of their own lives, he received several dangerous wounds before he could break loose. Above sixty Spaniards perished in the rout, forty of whom fell alive into the hands of an enemy, never known to show mercy to a captive.

The approach of night, though it delivered the dejected Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, ushered in, what was scarcely less grievous, the noise of their barbarous triumph, and of the horrid festival with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illuminated; the great temple shone with such peculiar splendour, that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy in hastening the preparations for the death of the prisoners. Through the gloom they fancied that they discerned their companions by the whiteness of their skins as they were stript naked and compelled to dance before the image of the god to whom they were to be offered. They heard the shrieks of those who were sacrificed, and thought that they could distinguish each unhappy victim, by the well-known sound of his voice. Imagination added to what they really saw or heard, and augmented its horror. The most unfeeling melted into tears of compas-

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sion, and the stoutest heart trembled at the dreadful spectacle which they beheld.

The Mexicans, elated with their victory, sallied out next morning to attack Cortes in his quarters. But they did not rely on the efforts of their own arms alone. They sent the heads of the Spaniards whom they had sacrificed, to the leading men in the adjacent provinces, and assured them that the god of war, appeased by the blood of their invaders, had declared with an audible voice, that in eight days time those hated enemies should be finally destroyed, and peace and prosperity re-established in the empire.

A prediction uttered with such confidence gained universal credit, among a people prone to superstition. The zeal of those who had already declared against the Spaniards augmented; and those who had hitherto been inactive took arms with enthusiastic ardour to execute the decree of the gods. The Indian auxiliaries who had joined Cortes abandoned his army as a race of men devoted to certain destruction. Even the fidelity of the Tlascalans was shaken, and the Spanish troops were left almost alone in their stations. Cortes, finding that he attempted in vain to dispel the superstitious fears of his confederates by argument, took advantage from the imprudence of those who had framed the prophecy, in fixing its accomplishment so near at hand, to give a striking demonstration of its falsity. He suspended all military operations during the period marked out by the oracle. Under cover of the brigantines, which kept the enemy at a distance, his troops lay on the lake in safety, and the fatal term expired without any disaster.

Many of his allies, ashamed of their own cre-

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dulity, returned to their station. Other tribes, judging that the gods, who had now deceived the Mexicans, had decreed finally to withdraw their protection from them, joined his standard; and so striking was the levity of this simple people, moved by every slight impression, that in a short time after such a general defection of his confederates, Cortes saw himself at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand Indians. Notwithstanding this immense force, Cortes proceeded against the city with great caution; nor could he make any impression till the stores, which Guatimozin had laid up, were exhausted by the multitudes which had crowded into the capital, to defend their sovereign and the temples of their gods. Then people of all ranks felt the utmost distresses of famine. What they suffered brought on infectious and mortal diseases, the last calamity that visits besieged cities, and which filled up the measure of ther woes.

But, under the pressure of so many and such various evils, the spirit of Guatimozin remained firm and unsubdued. He rejected with scorn every overture of peace from Cortes; and, disdaining the idea of submitting to the oppressors of his country, determined not to survive its ruin. At the earnest solicitations of several of his chiefs he attempted to escape, but was taken by the Spaniards. When brought before Cortes he appeared with a dignified countenance: "I have done," said he, "what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," laying his hand on one which Cortes wore, "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be useful to my country."

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A. D. 1521. As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased, and Cortes took possession of that small part of the capital which yet remained undestroyed. Thus terminated the siege of Mexico, the most memorable event in the conquest of America. The exultation of the Spaniards on the accomplishment of this arduous enterprise was at first excessive; but this was quickly damped by finding so small a quantity of booty, the gold and silver amounting to much less than 30,000l. sterling. The murmurs and sullen discontent of the Spanish soldiers led Cortes to the commission of a deed which stains the glory of all his great actions. Without regard, the former dignity of Guatimozin, or feeling any reverence for the virtues which he had displayed, he subjected the unhappy monarch, together with his chief favourite, to torture, in order to force from them a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed they had concealed. The monarch bore whatever his tormentors could inflict with invincible fortitude, till Cortes, ashamed of a scene so horrid, rescued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and prolonged a life reserved for new indignities and sufferings.

The fate of the capital, as both parties had foreseen, decided that of the empire. The provinces submitted one after another to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards, marching through them without interruption, penetrated in different quarters to the great Southern Ocean, which according to the ideas of Columbus, they imagined would open a short as well as easy passage to the East-Indies, and secure to the crown of Castile all

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the envied wealth of those fertile regions; and the active mind of Cortes began already to form schemes for attempting this important discovery. He did not know, that during the progress of his victorious arms in Mexico, the very scheme of which he began to form some idea, had been undertaken and accomplished by Ferdinand Magellan *. Though an untimely fate deprived this great man of the satisfaction of accomplishing the undertaking, his contemporaries, just to his memory and talents, ascribed to him not only the honour of having formed the plan, but of having surmounted almost every obstacle to the completion of it; and in the present age his name is still ranked among the highest in the roll of eminent and successful navigators. The naval glory of Spain now eclipsed that of every other nation; and by a singular felicity she had the merit, in the course of a few years, of discovering a new continent almost as large as that part of the earth which was formerly known, and of ascertaining by experience the form and extent of the whole terraqueous globe.

At the time Cortes was acquiring such extensive territories for his native country, and preparing the way for new conquests, he was represented by ministers in the court of Spain as an undutiful and seditious subject. His conduct in assuming the government of New Spain was declared to be an irregular usurpation, in contempt of royal authority. A person was sent out with full powers to supersede him, and even to send him home prisoner. But Cortes soon prevailed on him to surrender his powers, and in the mean time dispatched deputies to Spain with a pompous account of the

* See Vol. XII. ch. V. of this work.

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success of his arms, with further specimens of the productions of the country, and with rich presents to the emperor, as the earnest of future contributions from his new conquest; requesting, in recompense for all his services, the approbation of his proceedings; and that he might be intrusted with the government of those dominions, which his conduct and the valour of his followers had added to the crown of Castile. The public voice declared warmly in favour of his pretensions, and the emperor appointed Cortes captain-general and governor of New Spain.

Even before his jurisdiction received this legal sanction, Cortes ventured to exercise all the powers of a governor, and endeavoured to render his conquest a secure and beneficial acquisition to his country. He determined to raise Mexico from its ruins; and having conceived high ideas concerning the future grandeur of the state of which he was laying the foundation, he began to rebuild its capital on a plan which hath gradually formed the most magnificent city in the New World.

It was not, however, without difficulty that the Mexican empire was reduced into the form of a Spanish colony. And to the everlasting infamy of the conquerors, they affected to consider every effort of the Mexicans to assert their own independence, as the rebellion of vassals against their sovereign, or the mutiny of slaves against their master. Under the sanction of those ill-founded maxims, they reduced the common people in the provinces to the most humiliating of all conditions, that of personal servitude. Their chiefs were punished with greater severity, and put to death by the most excruciating tortures. In almost every district of the Mexican empire, the progress of Spanish arms

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is marked with blood, and with deeds so atrocious as disgrace the enterprising valour that conducted them to success. In the country of Panuco, sixty caziques and four hundred nobles were burnt at one time; and to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled, and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies. But we will not enlarge on facts which are disgraceful to human nature.

The passions of jealousy were revived with still stronger force against Cortes at home, and Ponce de Leon was sent out to seize his person and send him prisoner to Spain. The sudden death of this man, within a few days after his arrival in New Spain, prevented the execution of this commission. And Cortes immediately set out for Castile, and in the presence of his sovereign vindicated his conduct very successfully. His arrival in Spain removed from the monarch every suspicion and fear that had been entertained with respect to his intentions. The sovereign presented him with the order of St. Jago, and the title of marquis del Valle de Guaxana, and a grant of an ample territory in New Spain. But amidst those external proofs of regard, symptoms of distrust appeared. Cortes returned to America, but in the remainder of his life nothing more is remarkable except the discovery of the peninsula of California. He returned to his native country. But his reception there was unworthy of his great merit. His ancient exploits seemed to be already forgotten: the emperor behaved to him with cold civility; his ministers treated him, sometimes with neglect, sometimes with insolence. His grievances received no redress; his claims were

A. D. 1525.

A. D. 1528.

A. D. 1540.

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urged without effect; and, after several years spent in fruitless application to ministers and judges, he ended his days on the second of December in the sixty-second year of his age. His fate was the same with that of all the persons who distinguished themselves in the discovery or conquest of the New World: envied by his contemporaries, and ill requited by the court which he served, he has been admired and celebrated by succeeding ages. Which has formed the most just estimate of his character, an impartial consideration of his actions must determine.

A. D. 1547.

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CHAP. V.

History of the Conquest of Peru by Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque. Their Character. Pizarro sets off from Panama. Arrives at Tumbez. Delighted with the great Plenty of Gold and Silver. Explores the Country. Returns. Goes to Spain. Invades Peru a second time. Seizes the Gold at Coaque. Meets with Resistance at Puna. Extent of Peru. The Incas. Civil War in the Country. Atahualpa solicits Pizarro's Aid. Visits him, and is taken Prisoner. Offers a Ransom. The Bribe taken, but the Prince detained. The Spaniards share the Money, and basely murder Atuahalpa. Peruvians attack the Spaniards. Almagro penetrates into Chili. Lays claim to Cuzco. Takes Ferdinand Pizarro Prisoner. Releases him. Is made Prisoner by Pizarro, and put to Death. Pizarro's Conduct and Death. Vaca de Castro arrives. His wise and resolute Conduct. Is superseded by Gasca. His benevolent Plans and Disinterestedness. Returns to Spain universally honoured. Institutions and Manners of the Mexicans, and Peruvians. The recent Origin of the Mexican Empire. The Progress of the Mexicans in Civilization. Religion. Peruvian Monarchy more ancient. Its Policy founded in Religion. State of Property among the Peruvians. Their public Works and Arts. Roads. Bridges. Buildings. Their unwarlike Spirit.

WE must now resume our chronological history of discoveries in this continent, and we

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find three names particularly celebrated: these are Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. Pizarro was the natural son of a gentleman of an honourable family, by a very low woman: his education and prospects were so totally neglected, that when bordering on manhood he was in no higher employment than a keeper of hogs. But the aspiring mind of this young man suddenly abandoned his charge: he enlisted as a soldier, and, having served several years in Italy, embarked for America, where he very soon distinguished himself. Almagro had as little to boast of his descent as Pizarro. The one was a bastard, the other a foundling. Bred, like his companion, in the camp, he yielded not to him in the qualities of valour, activity, or insurmountable constancy in enduring the hardships inseparable from military service in the New World. In Almagro these virtues were accompanied with openness, generosity, and candour: in Pizarro, they were united with the address, the craft, and the dissimulation of a politician. Hernando de Luque was an ecclesiastic, who acted both as a priest and schoolmaster at Panama, and had acquired riches that inspired him with thoughts of rising to greater eminence. Such were the men destined to overturn one of the most extensive empires on the face of the earth. Their confederacy for this purpose was authorzied by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama. Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, who was the least wealthy, offered to take the department of the greatest fatigue and danger, and to command in person the armament which was to go first upon discovery. Almagro was to conduct the supplies of provisions,

A. D. 1524.

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and reinforcements of troops, of which Pizarro might stand in need; and Luque was to remain at Panama to negociate with the governor, and superintend whatever was carrying on for the general interest. Luque celebrated mass, divided a consecrated host into three parts, and, reserving one for himself, gave the other two to his associates; of which they partook, and thus, in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plunder, bloodshed, and every enormity, were the objects.

Pizarro set sail from Panama November the 14th, with a single ship and 112 men; and so little was he acquainted with the peculiarities of the climate, that he spent two years in sailing from Panama to the northern extremity of Peru, a voyage which is now frequently performed in a fortnight. He landed, and found that the wealth of the country was as great as he imagined; and that the resistance he was likely to meet in endeavouring to possess himself of it, would be full as considerable. At Tumbez, a place about three degrees south of the line, Pizarro and his companions feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. This place was distinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the *incas* or sovereigns of the country. But what chiefly attracted their notice was such a show of gold and silver, not only in the ornaments of their persons and temples, but in several vessels and utensils for common use, formed of those precious metals, as left no room to doubt that they abounded with profusion there. Having explored the country sufficiently to satisfy his own mind, Pizarro procured two of their *llamas*, or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of sheep, some vessels

A. D. 1524.

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of gold and silver, and two young men whom he intended to bring up as interpreters; and with these he arrived at Panama towards the close of the third year from the time of his departure.

A. D. 1527. No adventurer of the age suffered hardships or encountered dangers which equalled those to which he was exposed, during this long period. The patience with which he endured the one, and the fortitude with which he surmounted the other, are said to exceed whatever is recorded even in the history of the New World, where so many romantic displays of those virtues occur. But neither Pizarro nor his associate were deterred from the prosecution of their scheme.

It was agreed that Pizarro should go into Spain to release themselves from the government of Pedrarias, and to obtain the grant of whatever they should conquer. Pizarro was to be chief governor, with the property of 200 leagues along the sea-coast; Almagro, they agreed, should be *adelanto*, or king's lieutenant; and Luque, who was a priest, was to be first bishop and protector of the Indians. The other profits of the enterprise were to be equally divided. Pizarro solicited only his own suit at court, and obtained for himself alone, the property of the land, the government, the lieutenancy, and in short, every thing he was capable as a layman of taking; Almagro was forgotten; and to Luque was left the eventual bishopric. This breach of faith had nearly ruined the scheme: but Pizarro knew how to retreat; he satisfied Almagro, and a reconciliation was effected.

Pizarro completed his next voyage from Panama to the bay of St. Matthew in thirteen days. He advanced by land as quickly as possible towards

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Peru. At the province of Coaque he surprised the natives, and seized their vessels of gold and silver to the amount of several thousand pounds sterling. Delighted with this spoil, he instantly dispatched one of his ships with a large remittance to Almagro, and another to Nicaragua, with a considerable sum to several persons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers by this early display of the wealth which he had acquired. In the mean time he continued his march along the coast, meeting with scarcely any resistance till he arrived at the island of Puna in the bay of Guayquil. Here he spent six months in reducing the inhabitants to subjection. From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, and from thence to the river Piura, near the mouth of which he established the first Spanish colony in Peru, to which he gave the name of St. Michael. A. D. 1532.

When the Spaniards invaded Peru, the dominions of its sovereigns extended in length from north to south 1500 miles along the Pacific Ocean. Its breadth was much less considerable, being uniformly bounded by the vast ridge of the Andes, which stretched from its one extremity to the other. The empire was governed by a race of kings, or incas. The twelfth in succession was then on the throne. The first of this race, named Mango Capac, was a man of great genius, and with the assistance of Mama Ocollo, laid the foundations of a city, civilized a barbarous people, and instructed them in useful arts. They declared themselves to be children of the Sun, and that they were sent by their beneficent parent to instruct and reclaim them.

When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, Huana Capac was seated on the throne. By

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him the kingdom of Quito was subjected; a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito, by whom he had a son named Atahualpa, whom on his death at Quito, he appointed successor in that kingdom, leaving the rest to Huascar, his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race. Huascar, discontented with his father's will, required his brother to renounce the government of Quito and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior, which Atahualpa refused, and marched against Huascar in hostile array. Victory declared itself in favour of Atahualpa, who made a cruel use of his success. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race by putting to death all the children of the Sun, descended from Manco Capac.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the brothers with the greatest fury. His alliance and assistance were sought by Atahualpa, which he readily promised, and by these means was allowed to march his troops in safety across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupe, where their career might easily have been stopped. As they approached Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship, and as an evidence of their sincerity sent the Spaniards presents of great value. On entering this place Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a palace of the inca, on the other a temple of the Sun; the whole was surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. He then sent messengers inviting Atahualpa to visit him in his quarters; which he readily promised. On the return of

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the deputies they gave such a description of the wealth which they had seen, as determined Pizarro to seize upon the Peruvian monarch, in order that he might more easily come at the riches of his kingdom. The next day the inca approached Caxamalca without suspicion of Pizarro's treachery. First of all appeared 400 men in uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost entirely covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied in this cavalcade, and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

As the inca drew near the Spanish quarters, father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse attempted to convert him to the catholic faith. This the monarch declined, avowing his resolution to adhere to the worship of the Sun; at the same time he wished to know where the priest had learned the extraordinary things which he had related. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves raised it to his ear; "This," says he, "is silent, it tells me nothing," and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms! The word of God is insulted; avenge the profanation on these impious dogs."

Pizarro, who during this long conference had

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with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault, which terminated in the destruction of 4000 Peruvians, without the loss of a single Spaniard. The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which even the conquerors had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru.

The inca, who was taken prisoner, quickly discovered that the ruling passion of the Spaniards was avarice; he offered, therefore, to recover his liberty by a splendid ransom. The apartment in which he was confined was 22 feet long by 16 in breadth; this he undertook to fill with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed with the proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

Atahualpa performed his part of the contract, and the gold which his subjects brought in was worth between three and four hundred thousand pounds sterling. When they assembled to divide the spoils of this innocent people, procured by deceit, extortion, and cruelty, the transaction began with a solemn invocation to heaven, as if they expected the guidance of God in distributing those wages of iniquity. In this division, above eight thousand pesos, at that time not inferior in effective value to 10,000l. sterling in the present day, fell to the share of each horse soldier. Pizarro and his officers received dividends in proportion to the dignity of their rank.

A. D. 1533. The Spaniards having divided among them the treasure, the inca insisted that they should fulfil their promise of setting him at liberty. But nothing was further from Pizarro's

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thoughts; he was even at that very moment planning schemes to take away his life: an action the most criminal and atrocious that stains the Spanish name, amidst all the deeds of violence committed in carrying on the conquest of the New World. In order to give some colour of justice to this outrage, and that he might not stand singly responsible for the commission of it, Pizarro resolved to try the inca with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts of Spain. The charges exhibited against him were, the deposition and death of his brother; the permission of offering up human sacrifices; the keeping of a great number of concubines; and the exciting his subjects to take arms against the Spaniards. On these he was found guilty, as his infamous judges had predetermined, and condemned to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde prostituted the authority of his sacred function to confirm the wicked sentence, and by his signature warranted it to be just. Pizarro ordered him to be led to execution, and the cruel priest offered to console, and attempted to convert him. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a desire of being baptized. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, instead of being burnt, was strangled at the stake.

The death of the inca was no sooner known, than the principal nobility at Cuzco proclaimed the brother of Huascar as his successor: but Pizarro set up a son of Atahualpa; and two generals of the Peruvians claimed the sovereign power for themselves. Thus was this wretched country torn to pieces at once by foreigners, and by a domestic war among themselves. Notwithstanding, the Peruvians gained some considerable advantages over the Spaniards, even in this distracted condition,

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which made Pizarro listen to terms of peace, which he knew how to violate when his affairs required it. He made use of the interval to settle the Spaniards in the country, and shortly after renewed the war, making himself master of Cuzco, then the capital of the empire. New grants and supplies had lately arrived from Spain. Pizarro obtained 200 leagues along the sea-coast, to the southward of his former government. Almagro had a grant also of two hundred more to the southward of Pizarro's. It seems to have been a doubtful point in whose territory the city of Cuzco lay. Both contended for it; but it was at length awarded to Pizarro, and a reconciliation was again effected. Almagro, with an addition of Pizarro's troops to his own, penetrated with difficulty and danger into Chili, losing many of his men, whilst he passed over mountains of immense height, and always covered with snow. He succeeded, however, in reducing a valuable and considerable part of that country. No sooner did the inca perceive this division of the Spanish troops, than he desired leave from Pizarro's brother, who managed his affairs for him at Cuzco, to assist at a solemn festival of his nation, which was to be held at some distance. This feast was in reality a sort of an assembly of the states of the kingdom. The inca having his request granted, he made the best use of his time in exciting his countrymen to avenge themselves of the Spanish wrongs and cruelty. They laid siege to Cuzco with a large army; but the garrison under Ferdinand Pizarro, though it consisted of only seventy men, was, with their artillery, successful.

News was brought to Almagro of the danger to which Cuzco was exposed, and the general insurrection of the Peruvians. Relinquishing his new

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conquests, he hastened back to preserve his old, with great expedition. At his approach the Indians raised the siege, to the joy of the garrison, who were almost exhausted by the length of the defence. Almagro resolved to renew his claims to Cuzco; he had now a sort of right to it by having raised the siege, and he had strength sufficient to support that right. Ferdinand and Gonzalo, the two brothers of Pizarro, making some opposition, were thrown into prison, and their little army either joined the conqueror, or shared the same fate.

Pizarro, unacquainted with the arrival of Almagro, had got together an army for the relief of Cuzco, who were near the town before they found that they had any other enemy than the Indians to contend with. Almagro, after having in vain tried to seduce their fidelity, engaged and routed them. His friends represented to him that now was the hour of his fortune, and that he was bound to employ it, by establishing himself beyond all possibility of being removed. That he ought to put the Pizarros, his prisoners, to death, and march directly to Lima, and seize his rival. Almagro rejected this advice; and while he was deliberating what course he should pursue, Gonzalo Pizarro made his escape, with a hundred of those who were affected to his cause. Shortly after, by the solicitations and art of Pizarro, he released his brother Ferdinand. The treaty which they entered into with Almagro was now forgotten: they attacked him, gained a complete victory, and took him prisoner. In spite of Almagro's age, which ought to have excited pity; in spite of their common warfare, their dangers and triumphs; in spite of every sentiment of gratitude,

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for what this unfortunate man had contributed to his greatness; and in spite of his late mercy to his brother; all which were pathetically and strongly urged by Almagro,—Pizarro was deaf to every thing but barbarous policy: he had him formally tried, condemned, and strangled in prison. His body was afterwards publicly beheaded on a scaffold, and for a long time denied burial. A negro slave interred it at last by stealth. He left one son by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though at that time a prisoner at Lima, he named successor to his government, pursuant to a power which the emperor had granted him.

Pizarro considering himself now the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors, but with an unequal hand. Of course, all who were disappointed in their expectations, exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge. This party was yet numerous, though dispersed about the country. The heads of them, finding Pizarro implacable, entered into a conspiracy to murder him.

Their frequent cabals for this purpose did not pass unobserved, and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed. He disregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," said he, "about my life; it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can, in a moment, cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of young Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations, with all the zeal

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which this connexion inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On Sunday the 26th of June, at mid-day, the season of tranquillity and repose in all sultry climates, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house, in complete armour, and, drawing their swords as they advanced hastily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant die!" Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by such a numerous train of attendants as suited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived; yet as he was just risen from table, and most of his domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry of his apartment; and supported by his half brother Alcantara, and a little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal contest with an intrepidity worthy of his past exploits, and with the vigour of a youthful combatant: "Courage," cried he, "companions, we are yet enow to make those traitors repent of their audacity." But the armour of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defenders were mortally wounded. The governor receiving a deadly thrust full in his throat, sunk to the ground and expired. A. D. 1541.

As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran into the streets, and waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. They then con-

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ducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city, and, assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government. But the officers who commanded in some of the provinces refused to recognize his authority, until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal standard was erected, and preparations were begun, in order to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

In this state of things, the new governor, Vaca De Castro, appointed by the court of Spain, arrived. This gentleman had been chosen to the important trust, at the instance of the emperor alone, on account of his high reputation for justice and integrity. He immediately assumed the supreme authority, and, by his influence and address, soon assembled such a body of troops, as not only set him above all fear of being exposed to any insult from the adverse party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldness; the timid ventured to declare their sentiments; the neutral and wavering, finding it necessary to choose a side, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the safest, as well as the most just.

De Castro had scarcely landed, when Almagro sent an embassy to him, proposing terms, to which the governor replied, that he was come under the emperor's authority, to do justice to all; of which, if a good subject, he could have no room to complain; if a bad one, he must prepare for the result. This was new language to those who held the supreme power in this part of the world, who almost forgot that they had a superior. Almagro resolved

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to abide the fortune of war; but victory was on the side of Castro—not however without considerable loss. The superior number of his troops, his own intrepidity, and the martial talents of Francisco de Carjaval, his principal officer, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by Almagro with a gallant spirit, worthy of a better cause, and deserving another fate. The carnage was great, in proportion to the number of combatants. Of fourteen hundred men, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of wounded was still greater.

If the military talents displayed by De Castro, both in the council and the field, surprised the adventurers in Peru, they were still more astonished at his conduct after the victory. He proceeded directly to try his prisoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to suffer death, others were banished from Peru. Their leader made his escape from the field of battle; but being betrayed by some of his officers, he was publicly beheaded at Cuzco; and in him the name of Almagro and the spirit of the party became extinct.

The severity of this procedure, whilst it terrified every body, drew down no odium upon the governor, who acted clearly without prejudice or self-interest. To the followers of Pizarro he showed but little favour; he proceeded with such constancy, that in a short time the Spaniards were reduced to an entire subjection, and the Indians were treated by them as fellow subjects and fellow creatures. He obliged the clergy to attend diligently to the duty of their function, and to the conversion of the Indians, rather than to the acquisition of their gold. He laid the foundation for the excellent administration of justice. He founded several

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towns, and established schools and colleges in them, and placed the royal revenues on such a footing, that the conquest of Peru became immediately a great public advantage, which had hitherto been little more than an object of private plunder. But while he remained poor among some of the richest confiscations that ever were made, and while he enriched the royal treasury with most prodigious remittances, the great men at court received no presents; which induced them to get judges appointed to supersede, in a great measure, the authority of De Castro. The end was answered; disputes arose; the colony was unsettled; appeals and complaints were made to the court of Spain by all parties. In this confusion, Gonzalo, the brother of the celebrated Pizarro, availed himself of the general discontent, and contrived to set himself up at the head of a party. He strengthened himself daily, and even went so far as to behead a viceroy who was sent to curb him.

The court, justly alarmed at this progress, sent Peter de la Gasca, a man differing from De Castro, only by being of a milder and more insinuating behaviour, but possessing the same love of justice, the same greatness of soul, and the same disinterested spirit. This mildness of character suited the circumstances of the times, as well as the rigid justice of Castro did those in which he was appointed; for, as the revolt was now almost general, he had no friends but such as he could render so; though he was invested with the most ample authority from Spain, he neither carried men to enforce it, nor money; and the whole success of the expedition rested solely in his own capacity.

When he arrived in Mexico, he declared that he

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came not to exercise severities, but to heal the divisions by gentle measures. He drew the cities of Lima and Cuzco from the party of Pizarro. This rebel leader hazarded a battle, was defeated and taken prisoner. He was soon after condemned and executed, with those who had been the chief instruments of his rebellion. Such was the fate of all those who had taken a lead in the reduction of Peru. Almagro beheaded; his son sharing the same fate; Pizarro murdered in his own palace; his brother Ferdinand kept a prisoner twenty-three years; and his other brother Gonzalo suffering death as a traitor. The new governor, having by necessary severities quieted his province, took effectual care to heal its disorders by the arts of peace, and to complete what De Castro had been obliged to leave unfinished. He settled the civil government, the army and the mines, upon such a basis, as to insure, under a wise administration, the most important advantages to his country. He issued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppression, and to provide for their instruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labour.

Having now accomplished the object of his mission, Gasca, wishing to return to a private station, committed the government of Peru into the hands of the court of audience, and set out for Spain. As during the last four years of anarchy and turbulence there had been no remittances made of the royal revenue, he carried with him three hundred thousand pounds of public money, which the economy and order of his administration enabled him to save, after paying all the expenses of the war.

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He was received in his native country with universal admiration for his abilities and his virtue. Without army, or fleet, or public funds, he set out to oppose a formidable rebellion. By his address and talents he seemed to create instruments for executing his designs. He acquired such a naval force as gave him the command of the sea. He raised a body of men able to contend with and conquer bands which gave law to Peru. In the place of anarchy and usurpation he established the government of laws and the authority of the rightful sovereign. His abilities were, however, far exceeded by his virtue. After residing in a country where wealth presented allurements which had hitherto seduced every person who possessed power there, he returned with unsuspected integrity. After distributing among his countrymen possessions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the disposal of a subject in any age or nation, he himself remained in his original state of poverty; and, at the very time when he brought such a vast recruit to the royal treasury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts which he had contracted during the course of his service. Charles was not insensible to such merit: he received Gasca with the most distinguishing marks of esteem; and being promoted to the bishopric of Palencia, he passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, respected by his country, honoured by his sovereign, and beloved by all.

Notwithstanding Gasca's wise regulations, the tranquillity of Peru was not of long continuance. Several successive insurrections desolated the country for some years. During these contests many of the first invaders of Peru, and many of those licentious adventurers whom the fame of

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their success had allured thither, fell by each others hands. Each of the parties gradually cleared the country of a number of turbulent spirits, by executing, proscribing, or banishing their opponents. Men less enterprising, and less desperate, and more accustomed to move in the sober and peaceable road of industry, settled in Peru; and the royal authority was gradually established as firmly there as in the other Spanish colonies.

We shall conclude this chapter with a brief account of the political institutions and national manners of the Mexicans and Peruvians. When compared with other parts of the New World, Mexico and Peru may be considered as polished states. But if the comparison be made with the people of the ancient continent, the inferiority of America in improvement will be conspicuous. The people of both these great empires were totally unacquainted with the useful metals, and the progress they had made in extending their dominion over the animal creation was inconsiderable. The Mexicans had gone no farther than to tame and rear turkeys, ducks, a species of small dogs, and rabbits. The Peruvians seem to have neglected the inferior animals, but they were more fortunate in taming the llama, an animal peculiar to their country, of a form which bears some resemblance to a deer, and some to a camel, and is of a size somewhat larger than a sheep. Under the protection of man this species greatly multiplied. Its wool furnished the Peruvians with clothing, its flesh with food. It was even employed as a beast of burthen, and carried a moderate load with patience and docility.

According to the accounts given by the Mexicans themselves, the duration of their empire was short. From the first migration of their parent tribe, they can reckon little more than 300 years.

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The right of private property was, however, perfectly understood, and established in its full extent. In Mexico, where agriculture and industry had made some progress, the distinction between property in land, and property in goods, had taken place. Both might be transferred by sale or barter; both might descend by inheritance. Every person who could be denominated a freeman had property in land. The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed, and when deprived of the latter they lost possession of the former. Both these modes of occupying land were deemed noble, and peculiar to citizens of the highest class. The tenure by which the great body of the people held their property was very different. In every district a certain quantity of land was measured out, in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; its produce was deposited in a common store-house, and divided among them according to their respective exigencies. The members of the Calpullee, or associations, could not alienate their share of the common estate; it was indivisible permanent property, destined for the support of their families. In consequence of this distribution of the territory of the state, every man had an interest in its welfare, and the happiness of the individual was connected with the public security.

Another striking circumstance, which distinguishes the Mexican empire from those nations in America which have been already described, is the number and greatness of its cities. Mexico, the capital, is supposed to have contained 60,000 inhabitants. Among the Mexicans, too, the separation of the arts necessary in life had taken place to a considerable extent. The functions of the

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mason, the weaver, the goldsmith, the painter, &c. were carried on by different persons who were regularly instructed in their several callings.

The distinction of ranks was established also in the Mexican empire: and a system very like the feudal system in several European states, was acted upon there. The spirit of the people, thus familiarized to subordination, was prepared for submitting to monarchical government.

In tracing the great lines of the Mexican constitution, an image of feudal policy in its most rigid form rises to view, and we may discern in it three distinguishing characteristics: a nobility possessing almost independent authority, a people depressed into the lowest state of subjection, and a king intrusted with the executive power of the state. Its spirit and principles seem to have operated in the New World in the same manner as in the ancient. The jurisdiction of the crown was extremely limited. All real and effective authority was retained by the Mexican nobles in their own hands, and the shadow of it only left to the king.

The improved state of government among the Mexicans was conspicuous, in the taxes which they levied, and in their mode of assessment. Taxes were laid on land, upon the acquisition of industry, and upon all commodities exposed to public sale in the markets. They were imposed according to established rules, and each knew what share of the common burthen he had to bear. As the use of money was unknown, all the taxes were paid in kind; and from these the emperor supplied his attendants in time of peace, and his armies during war. People who possessed no visible property were bound to the performance of various services.

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By their labour the crown lands were cultivated, public works were carried on, and the various houses belonging to the emperor were built and kept in repair.

Their attention to the order and management of the police was very striking. Public couriers, stationed at proper intervals to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to the other, led to a refinement in police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. The structure of the capital in a lake, with artificial dykes, and causeways of great length, which served as avenues to it from different quarters, seems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The same observation may be applied to the structure of the acqueducts, by which they conveyed a stream of fresh water from a considerable distance into the city along one of the causeways. The appointment of a number of persons to cleanse the streets, to light them by fires kindled at different places, and to patrole as watchmen during the night, discovers a degree of attention which even polished nations are late in acquiring.

Their mode of computing time is a decisive evidence of their progress in improvement. They divided the year into eighteen months, each consisting of twenty days, amounting in all to 360. But as they observed that the course of the sun was not completed in that time, they added five days to the year, which they termed supernumerary, or waste; and as these did not belong to any month, no work was done, and no sacred rite performed on them; they were devoted wholly to festivity and pastime. Such are the striking particulars which exhibit the

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Mexicans as a people considerably refined. But, from other circumstances, one is apt to suspect that in many things they did not greatly differ from the other inhabitants of America.

Like the rude tribes around them, the Mexicans were incessantly engaged in war; and the motives which prompted them to hostility seem to have been the same. They fought to gratify their vengeance by shedding the blood of their enemies. In battle they were chiefly intent on taking prisoners, and it was by the number of these that they estimated the glory of victory. No captive was ever ransomed or spared. All were sacrificed without mercy, and their flesh devoured with the same barbarous joy as among the fiercest savages. On some occasions it rose to even wilder excesses. Their principal warriors covered themselves with the skins of the unhappy victims, and danced about the streets; boasting of their own valour, and exulting over their enemies. This ferocity of character prevailed among all the nations of New Spain. But in proportion as mankind combine in social union, their manners soften, sentiments of humanity arise, and the rights of the species come to be understood. The fierceness of war abates, and even while engaged in hostility, men remember what they owe one to another. The savage fights to destroy; the citizen, to conquer. The former neither pities nor spares; the latter has acquired sensibility, which tempers his rage. To this sensibility the Mexicans seem to have been perfect strangers; which leads us to suspect that their degree of civilization must have been very imperfect.

Their funeral rites were not less bloody than those of the most savage tribes. On the death of

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any distinguished personage, especially of the emperor, a certain number of his attendants were chosen to accompany him to the other world; and those unfortunate victims were put to death without mercy, and buried in the same tomb.

Though their agriculture was more extensive than that of the roving tribes, yet it was not sufficient to supply them with such subsistence as men require when engaged in efforts of active industry; and consequently every mean was taken to prevent any considerable increase in their families.

Their religious tenets, and the rites of their worship, indicate no great progress in civilization. The aspect of superstition in Mexico was gloomy and atrocious. Its divinities were clothed with terror, and delighted in vengeance. The figures of serpents, of tigers, and of other destructive animals, decorated their temples. Fear was the only principle that inspired their votaries. Fasts, mortifications, and penances rigid and excruciating, were the means employed to appease the wrath of the gods, and the Mexicans never approached their altars without sprinkling them with blood drawn from their own bodies. But of all offerings, human sacrifices were deemed most acceptable. Every captive taken in war was brought to the temple, was devoted as a victim to the deity, and was sacrificed with the most cruel rites. The heart and the head were the portion consecrated to the gods; the warrior by whose prowess the prisoner had been seized, carried off the body to feast upon it with his friends.

The empire of Peru boasts of higher antiquity than that of Mexico. But the knowledge of their ancient history, which the Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, was both imperfect and

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uncertain; for, being unacquainted with the art of writing, they were destitute of the only means by which the memory of past transactions can be preserved with any degree of accuracy. The *quipos*, or knots or cords on different colours, which have been celebrated as regular annals of the empire, imperfectly supplied the place of writing. According to the description of Acosta, by the various colours different objects were denoted, and by each knot a distinct number. Thus an account was taken and a register kept, of the inhabitants in each province, or of the several productions collected there for public use. But they could contribute, however, but little towards preserving the memory of ancient events and institutions.

Very little credit then is due to the details which have been given of the exploits, the battles, the conquests, and private character of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can depend upon nothing in their story as authentic, but a few facts so interwoven in the system of their religion and policy as preserved the memory of them from being lost, and upon the description of such customs and institutions as continued in force at the time of the conquest, and fell under the immediate observations of the Spaniards.

The people of Peru had not advanced beyond the rudest form of savage life, when Mango Capac, and his consort Mama Ocollo, appeared to instruct and civilize them. Who these extraordinary personages were, we are not able to ascertain; but, taking advantage of the propensity in the Peruvians to superstition, and particularly of their veneration for the Sun, they pretended to be the children of that luminary, and to deliver instructions in his name and by authority from him. The multitude

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listened and believed, and in process of time the successors of Mango Capac extended their dominion over all the regions that stretch to the west of the Andes from Chili to Quito, establishing in every province their peculiar policy and religious institutions. Indeed the whole system of civil policy among the Peruvians was founded on religion. The inca not only appeared as legislator, but as the messenger of heaven; and his injunctions were received as the mandates of the deity. His race was held to be sacred; and, to preserve it distinct, the sons of Capac married their own sisters, and no person was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by such pure descent. To these *children of the Sun*, for that was the appellation bestowed upon all the offspring of the first inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a superior order. Hence the authority of the inca was unlimited and absolute. And all crimes, being considered as insults offered to the deity, were punished capitally.

The system of superstition on which the incas ingrafted their pretensions to such high authority, was of a genius very different from that established among the Mexicans. Mango Capac turned the veneration of his followers entirely towards natural objects. The Sun, as the great source of light, of joy, and fertility, in the creation, attracted their principal homage. The moon and the stars, as co-operating with him, were entitled to secondary honours. Wherever the human mind is employed in contemplating the order and beneficence that really exist in nature, the spirit of superstition is mild. Wherever imaginary beings, created by the fears of men, are supposed to preside in nature, and become objects of worship, superstition as-

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sumes a more severe and atrocious form. Of the latter we have an example among the Mexicans; of the former, among the people of Peru. The Peruvians offered to the Sun a part of those productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the bosom of the earth and reared to maturity. They sacrificed as an oblation of gratitude some of the animals which were indebted to his influence for nourishment. They presented to him choice specimens of those works of ingenuity which his light had guided the hand of man in forming. But the incas never stained his altars with human blood, nor could they conceive that their beneficent father, the sun, would be delighted with such horrid victims. Thus the Peruvians had attained to a national character more mild and gentle than that of any people in America, which was displayed in their government, and even in their military system.

The state of property in Peru was singular, and contributed towards giving a mild turn of character to the people. All the lands capable of cultivation were divided into three shares: one was consecrated to the sun and to the rites of religion; the second belonged to the inca for the support of government; the third and largest share was reserved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. Neither individuals, however, nor communities, had a right of exclusive property in the portion set apart for their use. They possessed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new division was made in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All those lands were cultivated by the joint industry of the community. The people, summoned by a proper officer, repaired in a body

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to the fields, and performed their common task, while songs and musical instruments cheered them to their labour. A state thus constituted may be considered as one great family, of which the several members were bound together in closer intercourse than subsisted under any form of society established in America. From this resulted gentle manners and mild virtues unknown in the savage state, and with which the Mexicans were little acquainted.

The distinction of ranks was, nevertheless, fully established in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants were held in a state of servitude, their garb and houses were of a different form from those of freemen. They were employed in carrying burthens, and in performing every other species of drudgery. Next to them in rank were such of the people as were free, but distinguished by no official or hereditary honours. Above them were raised those whom the Spaniards call *orejones*, from the ornaments worn in their ears. These formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace, as well as in war, held every office of power or trust. At the head of all were the children of the sun, who, by their high descent and peculiar privileges, were as much exalted above the *orejones* as these were elevated above the people.

In Peru, agriculture was more extensive and carried on with greater skill than in any part of America, so that even the calamity of an unfruitful season was but little felt; for the product of the lands consecrated to the sun, as well as that of those set apart for the incas, being deposited in storehouses, it remained as a stated provision for times of scarcity. The use of the plough, indeed, was unknown to the Peruvians. They turned up the earth with a kind of wooden mattock; and in

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this labour both sexes joined the efforts of industry. Even the children of the sun set an example of activity, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands; and they dignified this function by denominating it their triumph over the earth.

The superior ingenuity of the Peruvians is likewise obvious in the construction of their houses and public buildings, some of which are of immense extent, and all of remarkable solidity. The temple of Pachacamac, together with the palace of the inca, and a fortress, were so connected as to form one great structure above half a league in circuit. The walls, indeed, owing to their entire ignorance of the mechanical powers, were not more than twelve feet from the ground. And, though they had not discovered the use of mortar or of any other cement, the bricks and stones were joined with so much nicety, that the seams could hardly be discerned. The public roads and bridges claim also a brief notice. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito extended in an uninterrupted stretch about 1500 miles. The one was conducted through the interior and mountainous country; the other through the plains on the sea-coast. The formation of those roads introduced another improvement in Peru. In its course from north to south, the road of the incas was intersected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes towards the Western Ocean. These were not fordable, nor could the Peruvians construct bridges either of stone or timber. They therefore formed cables of osiers of great strength, six of which they stretched across the stream parallel to one another, and made them fast on each side. These they bound together with smaller ropes so close as to form a compact piece

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of net-work, over which they passed with tolerable security.

The Peruvians had made also some progress in the arts. They had discovered the method of smelting and refining the silver ore which they found in the channels or dug for in the earth. They made mirrors by highly polishing hard shining stones; vessels of earthen ware of different forms; hatchets and other instruments, some destined for war, and others for labour.

Notwithstanding so many particulars, which seem to indicate an high degree of civilization, other circumstances occur that suggest the idea of a society still in the first stages of its improvement. In all the dominions of the incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance or was entitled to the name of a city. Every where else the people lived mostly in detached habitations, dispersed over the country or settled in small villages. Of course, the separation of professions in Peru was not so complete as among the Mexicans. The less closely men associate, the more simple are their manners, and the fewer their wants. All the arts, accordingly, which were of daily and indispensable utility, were exercised by every Peruvian indiscriminately. None but artists employed in works of mere curiosity or ornament constituted a separate order of men, or were distinguished from other citizens. Another consequence resulting from the want of cities, was the little commercial intercourse among the inhabitants of that great empire. But the unwarlike spirit of the Peruvians was the most remarkable as well as the most fatal defect in their character. By this, Peru was subdued at once, and almost without resistance; and the most favoura-

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ble opportunities of regaining their freedom, and of crushing their oppressors, were lost through the timidity of the people. This character hath descended to their posterity: the Indians of Peru are now more tame and depressed than any people of America.

The cruel custom that prevailed in some of the most savage tribes, subsisted also among the Peruvians. On the death of the incas, a considerable number of their attendants were put to death and interred around them that they might appear in the next world with their former dignity, and be served with proper respect. On the death of Huana-Capac, the most powerful of their monarchs, above a thousand victims were doomed to accompany him to the tomb.

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CHAP. VI.

View of the other Spanish Possessions and Conquests in the New World. Cinaloa. Sonora. New Navarre. New Mexico. Chili. Tucuman. Rio de la Plata. Terra Firma. New Granada. Galleons. Effect of the Spanish Settlements with regard to the Colonies. Depopulation with respect to Spain. Idleness and Poverty. Register-Ships. Trade of Acapulco. Revenue, &c.

ALTHOUGH Mexico and Peru are the possessions of Spain in the New World which have attracted the greatest attention, yet her other dominions there are far from being inconsiderable, either in extent or value. The greater part of them were reduced to subjection during the first part of the sixteenth century by private adventurers, who fitted out their small armaments either in Hispaniola or in Old Spain: and if our limits would allow us to follow each leader in his progress, we should discover the same daring courage, the same persevering ardour, the same rapacious desire of wealth, and the same capacity of enduring and surmounting every thing in order to attain it, which distinguished the operations of the Spaniards in their greater American conquests. Instead, however, of entering into a detail of this kind, it will be right to give a brief description of those provinces of Spanish America which have not hitherto been mentioned.

The jurisdiction of the viceroy of New Spain

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extends over several provinces which were not subject to the dominion of the Mexicans. The countries of Cinaloa and Sonara, that stretch along the east side of the Gulf of California, as well as the immense kingdoms of New Navarre and New Mexico, which bend towards the west and north, and did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Montezuma or his predecessors, are reduced, some to a greater, others to a less degree of subjection to the Spanish yoke. They extend through the most delightful part of the temperate zone, and have a communication either with the Pacific Ocean or with the Gulf of Mexico, and are watered by rivers which not only enrich them, but may become subservient to commerce. The number of Spaniards settled in these provinces is extremely small; but from the rich mines that have been discovered, opened, and worked with success, they are becoming more populous, and may soon be as valuable as any part of the Spanish empire of America.

The peninsula of California was discovered by Cortes in the year 1536, but the Spaniards have made little progress in peopling it. Don Joseph Galvez, who was sent by the court of Spain to visit it, brought a very favourable account: he found the pearl fishery on its coasts to be valuable, and he discovered mines of gold of a very promising appearance. From its vicinity to Cinaloa and Sonara, California may, perhaps, hereafter be no longer regarded among the desolate and almost useless districts of the Spanish empire. On the east of Mexico, Yucatan and Honduras are comprehended in the government of New Spain. They stretch from the Bay of Campeachy beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, and derive their value prin-

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cipally from the logwood tree, which for the purposes of dyeing has become an article in commerce of great value. Still farther east than Honduras lie the two provinces of Costa Riga and Veragua, which are of but small value, and merit no particular attention.

The most important province depending on the viceroyalty of Peru is Chili, the inhabitants of which were, in a great measure, independent of the incas, and for a considerable time successfully resisted the arms of the Spaniards. The mountainous parts of the country are still possessed by tribes of the original inhabitants, who are formidable neighbours to the Spaniards, with whom, during the course of two centuries, they have been obliged to maintain almost perpetual hostility.

That part of Chili which may be properly deemed a Spanish province, is a narrow district extended along the coast from the desert of Atacamas to the island of Chiloe, above 900 miles. Its climate is the most delicious in the New World. The soil is very fertile, and accommodated to European produetions: among these are corn, wine, and oil. All the fruits imported from Europe attain to full maturity there, and the animals of our hemisphere multiply and improve. Nor has Nature exhausted her bounty on the surface of the earth; she has stored its bowels in various parts with mines of gold, of silver, of copper, and of lead.

To the east of the Andes, the provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata border on Chili, and stretch from north to south 1300 miles, and in breadth more than a thousand. This country forms itself into two great divisions, one on the north and the other to the south of Rio de la Plata. The former comprehends Paraguay, the fa-

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mous missions of the Jesuits, and several other districts. The capital of La Plata is Buenos-Ayres, the most considerable sea-port in South America. From this town a great part of the treasure of Chili and Peru is exported to Old Spain. Most of the country is inhabited by native Americans. The Jesuits were indefatigable in their endeavours to convert the Indians to the belief of their religion, and to introduce among them the arts of civilized life; and they met with surprising success. More than 300,000 families were formerly subject to the Jesuits, living in obedience and with an awe bordering on adoration. But in 1767 the Jesuits were sent out of America by royal authority, and their subjects were put upon the same footing with the other inhabitants of the country.

All the other territories of Spain in the New World, the islands excepted, of whose discovery and reduction an account has already been given, are comprehended under two great divisions; the former denominated the kingdom of Terra Firma, the provinces of which stretch along the Atlantic from the eastern frontier of New Spain to the mouth of the Oronoko; the latter the new kingdom of Granada, situated in the interior country. Terra Firma is divided into twelve large provinces, which contain a vast deal of mountainous country: the valleys are deep and narrow; and being for a great part of the year flooded, the whole district is perhaps the most unhealthy part of the torrid zone. The plains are fertile, and produce great abundance of corn, fruits, and drugs. No place abounds more in rich pasturage, or has a greater stock of black cattle. Its capital city, Panama, is situated upon one of the best harbours of the South Seas. Hither is brought all the treasure which the rich mines of Peru and Chili pay

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to the king, or produce upon a private account. In the bay is a pearl fishery of great value. The town contains 5000 houses elegantly built of brick and stone, disposed in a semicircular form, and enlivened with the spires and domes of several churches and monasteries. At Carthagena, the second town in Terra Firma, the *galleons* on their voyage from Spain put in first, and dispose of a considerable part of their cargo. The fleet of galleons consists of about eight men of war, laden with every kind of merchandize, as well as with military stores for Peru. No sooner are these ships arrived in the haven of Carthagena than expresses are immediately dispatched to the adjacent towns, that they may get ready all the treasure which is deposited there to meet the galleons at Porto Bello. Here all persons concerned in the various branches of this extensive traffic assemble, and business of wonderful extent and importance is negociated in a short time. In about a fortnight the fair is over; during which the display of gold and silver and precious stones on the one hand, and of all the curiosities and variety of European fabrics on the other, is astonishing. Heaps of wedges and ingots of the precious metals are rolled about on the wharfs like things of little or no value. At this time an hundred crowns are given for a mean lodging, a thousand for a shop, and provisions of every kind are proportionably dear.

The new kingdom of Granada is so far elevated above the level of the sea, that though it approaches almost to the equator, the climate is remarkably temperate. Some districts yield gold with so great profusion, that single labourers have been known to collect in a day what was equal in value to 250l.

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Its towns are populous and flourishing. Industry is encouraged, and a considerable trade is carried on with Carthagena.

Having traced the progress of the Spaniards in their discoveries and conquests, to that period when their authority was established over all the vast regions in the New World still subject to their dominion; it remains only to consider the effect of their settlements upon the countries, which they took possession of as well as upon their own.

The first visible consequence of the establishments made by the Spaniards in America, was the diminution of the ancient inhabitants to a degree equally astonishing and deplorable. But notwithstanding the rapid depopulation of America, a very considerable number of the native race still remains both in Mexico and Peru. Their settlements in some places are so populous as to merit the name of cities. In Peru, several districts, particularly in the kingdom of Quito, are occupied almost entirely by Indians; and in some provinces they are mingled with the Spaniards, and are almost the only persons who practise the mechanic arts, and fill most of the inferior stations in society. In the districts adjacent to Carthagena, to Panama, and Buenos-Ayres, the desolation is more general than even in those parts of Mexico and Peru of which the Spaniards have taken most full possession.

When the conquests of the Spaniards in America were completed, their monarchs, in forming the plan of internal policy for their new dominions, divided them into two immense governments; one subject to the viceroy of New Spain, the other to the viceroy of Peru. The jurisdiction of the former extended over all the provinces belonging to Spain in the northern division of the American

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continent. Under that of the latter was comprehended whatever she possessed in South America. The authority of the viceroy over districts so far removed from his own eye and observation, was unavoidably both feeble and ill-directed. A third viceroyalty has therefore been established at Santa Fé de Bojeta, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, the jurisdiction of which extends over the whole kingdom of Terra Firma, and the province of Quito. In subjection to the viceroys are other officers of different ranks and degrees. The various duties assigned to each, and the several powers which they exercise, cannot be discussed in this volume. We shall therefore proceed to explain by what means the colonies enrich the mother country.

Of all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of searching for the precious metals is one of the most inviting to men unaccustomed to the regular assiduity with which the culture of the earth and the operations of commerce must be carried on, or who are so rapacious as not to be satisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as soon as the several countries in America were subjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almost the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers by whom they were conquered. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the quantities of gold and silver found among the natives promised an unexhausted store. During several years the ardour of their researches was kept up by hope rather than success. At length the rich mines of Potosi, in Peru, were accidentally discovered in the year 1545, by an Indian as he was clambering up the mountain in pursuit of a llama which had

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strayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time the working of mines has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a system no less complicated than interesting.

The exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the New World poured forth their treasures astonished mankind, who had been accustomed hitherto to receive a penurious supply of the precious metals from the more scanty stores contained in the mines of the ancient hemisphere. According to principles of computation, which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and silver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain is equal in value to four millions sterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was discovered, to the present time. This in 311 years amounts to twelve hundred and forty-four millions. Immense as this sum is, the Spanish writers contend that as much more ought to be added to it, in consideration of treasure which has been extracted from the mines, and imported fraudulently into Spain without paying duty to the king. By this account Spain has drawn from the New World a supply of wealth amounting to nearly two thousand five hundred millions of pounds sterling.

Though the mines are the chief object of the Spaniards, yet the fertile countries which they possess in America abound with other commodities of such value or scarcity as to attract a considerable degree of attention. Cochineal is a production almost peculiar to New Spain: the Jesuits bark, the most salutary, simple, perhaps, and of most restorative virtue, that Providence has made

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known to man, is found only in Peru: the indigo of Guatimala is superior in quality to that of any province in America; cocoa attains to its highest perfection in the Spanish colonies, and, from the great consumption of chocolate in Europe, as well as in America, is a valuable commodity: the tobacco of Cuba is of more exquisite flavour than any brought from the New World: the sugar raised in that island, in Hispaniola, and in New Spain, together with drugs of various kinds may be mentioned among the natural productions of America which enrich the Spanish commerce. To these must be added the exportation of hides. The cattle from which these are taken range over the vast plains which extend from Buenos-Ayres towards the Andes, in herds of thirty or forty thousand; and the unlucky traveller who once falls in among them, may proceed for several days before he can disentangle himself from among the crowd that covers the face of the earth, and seems to have no end. They are scarcely less numerous in New-Spain, and in several other provinces, where they are killed merely for the sake of their hides; and the slaughter at certain seasons is so great, that the stench of the carcases which are left in the field would infect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vast flocks of American vultures, the most voracious of all the feathered kind, did not instantly devour them. The number of those hides exported in every fleet to Europe is very great, and is a lucrative branch of commerce.

When the importation into Spain of those various articles from her colonies first became active and considerable, her interior industry and manufactures were in so prosperous a state, that with the product of these she was able both to purchase

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the commodities of the New World and to answer its growing demands. Nor was the state of the Spanish marine at this period less flourishing than that of its manufactures. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Spain is said to have possessed above a thousand merchant ships, a number far superior to that of any nation in Europe in that age. By the aid which foreign trade and domestic industry give reciprocally to each other in their progress, the augmentation of both must have been rapid and extensive; and Spain might have received the same accession of opulence and vigour from her acquisitions in the New World, that other powers have derived from their colonies. But various causes prevented this.

The same thing happens to nations as to individuals. Wealth which flows in gradually, and with moderate increase, nourishes that activity which is friendly to commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous exertions; but when opulence pours in suddenly and with too full a stream, it overturns all sober plans of industry, and brings along with it a taste for what is wild and extravagant. Such was the great and sudden augmentation of power and revenue that the possessions of America brought into Spain, and symptoms of its pernicious influence soon began to appear. When Philip II. ascended the Spanish throne, remittances from the colonies became a regular and considerable branch of revenue. The fatal operation of this change in the state of the kingdom was at once conspicuous. And under the weak administration of Philip III. the vigour of the nation sunk into the lowest decline. The inconsiderate bigotry of that monarch expelled at once nearly a million of his most industrious subjects, at the

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very time when the exhausted state of the kingdom required some extraordinary exertions of political wisdom to augment its members, and to revive its strength. Spain felt that her manufactures were fallen into decay; that her fleets, which had been the terror of Europe, were ruined; and that her commerce was lost. Even agriculture, the primary object of industry in every prosperous state, was neglected, and one of the most fertile countries in Europe hardly raised what was sufficient for the support of its own inhabitants. The Spaniards, intoxicated with the wealth which poured in upon them, deserted the paths of industry to which they had been accustomed, and repaired with eagerness to those regions from which this opulence issued; till at length Spain was unable to supply the growing demand of the colonies. She had recourse to her neighbours. The manufactures of the Low-Countries, of England, of France, and of Italy, furnished in abundance whatever she required. In a short time not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spanish growth or fabric. The treasure of the New World may be said henceforward not to have belonged to Spain. That wealth, which by an internal circulation would have spread through each vein of industry, and have conveyed life and motion to every branch of manufacture, flowed out of the kingdom with such a rapid course as neither enriched nor animated it. On the other hand, the artisans of rival nations, encouraged by the quick sale of their commodities, improved so much in industry as to be able to afford them at a rate so low that the manufactures of Spain were still farther depressed. This destructive commerce drained off the riches

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of the nation, and the Spaniards, in fact, became only the carriers of foreign merchandize, and the channel through which the precious metals flowed from America to the other European states. Spain was so much astonished and distressed at beholding her American treasures vanish almost as soon as they were imported, that Philip III. issued an edict, by which he endeavoured to raise copper money to a value in currency nearly equal to that of silver; and the lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced to a wretched expedient, which is the last resource of petty impoverished states.

Thus the possessions of Spain in America have not proved a source of population and of wealth to her, in the same manner as those of other nations. In those countries of Europe where industry is in full vigour, every person settled in such colonies as are similar in their situation to those of Spain, is supposed to give employment to three or four at home in supplying his wants. But wherever the mother country cannot afford this supply, every emigrant may be considered as a citizen lost to the community; and strangers must reap all the benefit of answering his demands.

We have already noticed the trade carried on by the galleons: these were frequently retarded by various accidents, and on such occasions the scarcity of European goods in the Spanish settlements frequently became excessive; their price rose to an enormous height. The vigilant eye of mercantile attention did not fail to observe this favourable opportunity: an ample supply was poured in from the English, French, and Dutch islands; and when the galleons at length arrived they found the markets [illegible] glutted by this illicit

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commerce, that there was no demand for the commodities with which they were loaded. To remedy this, Spain permitted a considerable part of her commerce with America to be carried on in *register-ships*. These were fitted out during the intervals between the stated seasons when the galleons sailed, by merchants of Seville or Cadiz, upon obtaining a licence from the council of the Indies, for which they paid a high premium.

In proportion as experience manifested the advantages of carrying on trade in this mode, the number of register-ships increased; and at length in the year 1748, the galleons, after having been employed upwards of two centuries, were finally laid aside. From that period there has been no intercourse with Chili and Peru, but by single ships, dispatched from time to time as occasion requires. These sail round Cape Horn, and convey directly to the ports in the South Sea the productions and manufactures of Europe, for which the people settled in those countries were before obliged to repair to Porto-Bello or Panama.

It remains only to give some account of the trade carried on between New Spain and the Philippine islands. Soon after the accession of Philip II. a scheme was formed of planting a colony in these islands, which had been neglected since the time of their discovery. Manilla, in the island of Luconia, was the station chosen for the capital of this new establishment. From it an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese; and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippine islands, under Spanish protection. They supplied the colony so amply with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, as

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enabled it to open a trade with America, by a course of navigation the longest from land to land on our globe. In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on with Callao on the coast of Peru, but afterwards it was removed to Acapulco on the coast of New Spain.

After various arrangements it has been brought into a regular form. One or two ships depart annually from Acapulco, which are permitted to carry out silver to the amount of more than one hundred thousand pounds sterling; in return for which, they bring back spices, drugs, china, and japan wares; callicoes, chintz, muslins, silks, and every precious article with which the East can supply the rest of the world. For some time the merchants of Peru were permitted to participate in this traffic, but now it is confined solely to New Spain. In consequence of this indulgence, the inhabitants of that country enjoy advantages unknown to the other Spanish colonies. The manufactures of the East are not only more suited to a warm climate, and are more showy than those of Europe, but can be sold at a lower price; while, at the same time, the profits upon them are so considerable as to enrich all those who are employed either in bringing them from Manilla, or vending them in New Spain. As the interest both of the buyer and seller concurs in favouring this branch of commerce, it has continued in spite of regulations, concerted with the most anxious jealousy, to circumscribe it. Under cover of what the laws permit to be imported, great quantities of India goods are poured into the markets of New Spain; and when the European ships arrive at Vera Cruz, they frequently find the wants of the peo-

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ple supplied by cheaper and more acceptable commodities.

Notwithstanding these frauds, the Spanish monarchs receive a very considerable revenue from the American dominions. This arises from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided into, 1. What is paid to the sovereign as lord of the New World: to this class belong the duty on the produce of the mines, and the tribute exacted from the Indians: the former is termed by the Spaniards the *right of signory*, the latter is the *duty of vassalage*. 2. Into the numerous duties on commerce, which accompany and oppress it in every step: and, 3. What accrues to the king as head of the church. In consequence of this, he receives the spiritual revenues levied by the apostolic chamber in Europe, and is entitled likewise to the profit arising from the sale of the bull of Cruzado. This bull, which is published every two years, contains an absolution from past offences, and a permission to eat several kinds of prohibited food during Lent. Every person in the Spanish colonies of European, Creolian, or mixed race, purchases a bull which is deemed essential to his salvation, at the rate set upon it by government. It is not easy to get at the amount of those various funds; but it is probable that the net public revenue raised in America does not exceed a million and a half sterling per annum. Spain and Portugal are, however, the only European powers who derive a direct revenue from their colonies. All the advantage that accrues to other nations from their American dominions arises from the exclusive enjoyment of their trade.

But if the revenue which Spain draws from

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America be great, the expense of administration in her colonies bears full proportion to it. The salaries allotted to every person in public office are very high. The viceroys maintain all the state and dignity of royalty. Their courts display such pomp as hardly retains the appearance of a delegated authority. All this expense is defrayed by the crown.

The salaries constitute but a small part of the revenue enjoyed by the viceroys. From the single article of presents made to him on the anniversary of his *name-day*, a viceroy has been known to receive fifteen thousand pounds sterling. According to a Spanish proverb, the legal revenues of a viceroy are known: his real profits depend upon his opportunities and conscience. Hence their commission is granted only for a very short term of years; which renders them often more rapacious, in order quickly to repair a shattered fortune, or to create a new one. But even in situations so trying to human frailty, there are instances of virtue that remain unseduced. In the year 1772, the marquis de Croiz finished the term of his viceroyalty in New Spain with unsuspected integrity; and, instead of bringing home exorbitant wealth, returned with the admiration and applause of a grateful people, whom his government had rendered happy.

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CHAP. VII.

History of the Portuguese Settlements in America. Discovery of Brazil. Extent of the Portuguese Empire. Conquest of Portugal. Brazil taken by the Dutch. Recovered. Extent of Brazil. How divided and governed. Inhabitants. Trade. Amazonia. River Amazon. People. French Settlement of Cayenne. Dutch Settlements at Guiana. Chief Towns. Climate. Inhabitants. Productions.

THE discovery of America by Columbus was, as we have seen, owing originally to just reasoning on the figure of the earth, though the particular land that he discovered was far from that which he sought. Here was evidently a mixture of wise design and fortunate accident; but the Portuguese discovery of Brazil may be regarded as merely accidental. For, sailing with a considerable armament to India, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, but standing out to sea to avoid the calms upon the coast of Africa, the Portuguese fleet fell in with the continent of South America. Upon their return they made so favourable a report of the land which they had discovered, that the court resolved to send a colony thither. This was at first opposed by the Spaniards, who considered the country as within their dominions. Matters were, however, at length accommodated by a treaty, in which it was agreed that the Portuguese should possess all that tract of land that lies between the River of Amazons and that of La Plata.

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When their right was thus confirmed, the Portuguese pursued the settlement with such vigour, that in a little time more than two thousand miles of sea-coast was colonized; which was infinitely to the benefit of the mother country. Their settlements on the coast of Africa forwarded this establishment, by the number of negroes which they afforded them for their works. Hence the introduction of negroes into this part of America, and the foundation of a traffic, disgraceful to all concerned in it. A. D. 1549.

In the very meridian of their prosperity, when the Portuguese were in possession of so extensive an empire, and so flourishing a trade in Africa, in Arabia, in India, in the Asiatic isles, and in the most valuable part of America, they were crushed by one of those incidents which decides the fates of kingdoms. Don Sebastian, one of their greatest princes, in an expedition he had undertaken against the Moors, was slain; by which accident the Portuguese lost their liberty, and were absorbed into the Spanish dominions. A. D. 1580.

Soon after this misfortune, the same yoke that galled the Portuguese grew so intolerable to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, that they threw it off with great fury and indignation. Not satisfied with erecting themselves into an independent state, they fell upon the possessions of the Portuguese; took almost all their fortresses in the East-Indies; and then turned their arms upon Brazil, which was unprotected by Europe, and betrayed by the cowardice of the governor of their principal city. They would have over-run the whole, had not the archbishop Don Michael de Texeira believed, that in such an emergency the danger of his country superseded the A. D. 1623.

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common obligations of his profession. He took arms, and at the head of his monks, and a few scattered forces, put a stop to the torrent of the Dutch conquest. He made a gallant stand until succours arrived, and then resigned the commission with which the public necessity and his own valour had armed him, into the hands of a person appointed by authority. By this noble conduct the archbishop saved seven of the fourteen provinces into which Brazil was divided: the rest fell into the hands of the Dutch, from whom they were again partly re-conquered by the Portuguese, but not without a considerable struggle, and after much loss on both sides. The Portuguese agreed to pay the Dutch eight tons of gold, to relinquish their interest in this country: which was accepted; and they have remained in peaceable possession of all Brazil till about 1762, when the Spaniards took the fortress of St. Sacrament; but by treaty of peace it was restored.

A. D. 1661.

This vast territory is but little known, partly from the want of science and curiosity, and partly on account of the thick forests which cover the extensive plains of La Plata. Though in strict alliance with Portugal, we have little precise knowledge of Brazil, and still less of the interior country of Amazonia. The chief city of Brazil was formerly Saint Salvador, which has since yielded to Rio de Janeiro.

Brazil is now divided into eight independent governments, besides that of Rio de Janeiro, of which alone the governor retains the style of viceroy of the Brazils. The discovery and improvement of the gold and diamond mines, about one hundred leagues to the N. W. have secured to Janeiro a decided preponderance. But all the

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provinces are growing fast into opulence and importance; and we are informed by Sir George Staunton, that they manufactured of late years several of the most necessary articles for their own consumption, and their produce was so considerable that the balance of trade began to be already in their favour; and remittances of bullion were made to them from Europe, in return for the overplus of their exports beyond their imports. The diamond mines belong exclusively to the crown; and one-fifth of the gold is exacted. There are also numerous taxes and impositions, which, instead of enlarging the revenue, are the great causes of its diminution.

The European settlers in Brazil are fond of pleasure, but extremely observant of the ceremonies of religion. Labour is chiefly performed by slaves, about twenty thousand negroes being annually imported. The natives are said to be irreclaimable savages, who chiefly subsist apart on the coast between Janeiro and San Salvador. The harbour of Rio Janeiro is capacious and excellent; surrounded by a fertile country, and protected by the castle of Santa Cruz. On the west is the city of St. Sebastian, commonly called Rio de Janeiro, built on a tongue of land, the hills and rocks behind being crowned with woods, convents, houses, and churches. The streets are generally straight and well paved. Water is supplied by an aqueduct after the Roman plan; for, notwithstanding the name, there is no river of any note.

The trade of Brazil is very great, and increases every year. Of the diamonds there are supposed to be returned to Europe to the amount of 130,000l. annually. This, with the sugar, the tobacco, the hides, and the valuable drugs for medicine and manufactures, may give some idea of the import-

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ance of this traffic, not only to Portugal, but to all the trading powers of Europe.

Amazonia was discovered by Francisco Orellana, about the year 1580, who in returning from Peru sailed down the river Amazon to the Atlantic ocean. On the banks of the river he observed companies of women in arms. On that account he called the country Amazonia, or the Land of Amazons, and gave the name of Amazon to the river, which formerly had been called Maragnon. The Spaniards were never able to effect a settlement there; but the Portuguese have some small colonies on that part of the coast which lies betwixt Cape North and the mouth of the Amazon. This river is one of the largest in the world. It runs a course from west to east of about three thousand miles, and receives nearly two hundred other rivers, some of which are not inferior in magnitude to the Danube or the Nile. The breadth of this river at its mouth, where it discharges itself by several channels into the ocean, almost under the equator, is one hundred and fifty miles, and at one thousand five hundred miles from its mouth it is forty fathoms deep. In the rainy season it overflows its banks, and waters and fertilizes the adjacent country.

The Indian nations inhabiting this extensive tract of the globe are very numerous; and the banks of almost every river are inhabited by a different people, who are governed by their caziques, distinguished from their subjects by coronets of beautiful feathers. They are idolaters, and worship the images of their ancient heroes. In their expeditions they carry their gods with them.

The possessions of the French on the continent of America are very inconsiderable. They were

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formely the lords of Canada and Louisiania, but have now lost all footing in North America. On the southern continent, however, they have still a settlement, which is called Cayenne, in Guiana. The chief town is Caen, or Cayano, in which there are twelve hundred white inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison. The coast is very low, but within land there are fine hills, proper for almost every species of cultivation. But the French have not yet extended them so far as they might. The soil and climate seem unexceptionable, but during the rains many parts are inundated. The dry season is from June to October, and the heaviest rains are in our winter season. Cayenne pepper is the principal product of this country; besides which they export sugar, cocoa, vanilla, and indigo.

The French have also taken possession of the island of Cayenne, which is situated at the mouth of the river of the same name. It is about forty-five miles in circumference, and is reckoned very unhealthy. To this place the tyrant Robespierre banished many of the best men of France, for political offences. The Corsican Bonaparte has made use occasionally of this island for the same purpose.

After the Portuguese had dispossessed the Dutch of Brazil, they formed settlements in Guiana, A. D. 1663, but four years afterwards they were expelled by the English, whose descendants form part of the colony, which was given back to the Dutch, in exchange for New-York, in 1676. Dutch Guiana is to the N. W. of the French settlement, and is often called Surinam, from a river of that name on which the capital is situated. The chief towns are Parimaribo, on the western bank

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of the Surinam, and New Middleburg near the N. W. extremity of the colony. Demerara is a settlement on a river of that name. Issequibo is another Dutch settlement on the Spanish Main, which surrendered to the English in 1781, but which was not considered of sufficient importance to be retained.

The climate of this country is reckoned unwholesome. The wet and dry seasons are alternate, each for about three months. It is one of the richest and most valuable colonies belonging to the United Provinces; but it is in a less prosperous situation than it was some years since, owing to the wars in which they have been engaged with their fugitive negroes, whom they treated with great barbarity, and who are become sufficiently numerous to form a kind of colony in the woods, and to be really formidable enemies to their former masters. Under the command of chiefs elected from among themselves, they have cultivated lands for their subsistence; and making frequent incursions into the neighbouring plantations, revenge themselves upon their old oppressors. The chief trade of Surinam consists in sugar, cotton, coffee, tobacco, flax, skins, and very valuable dyeing drugs.

The inhabitants of Dutch Guiana are either whites, blacks, or the reddish-brown aboriginal natives of America. The promiscuous intercourse of these different people has likewise generated several intermediate casts, whose colours depend on their degree of consanguinity to either Whites, Indians, or Negroes.—There are so many birds of various species, and remarkable for the beauty of their plumage, in Guiana, that several persons in the colony have employed themselves with their dependants very advantageously in

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killing and preserving them for the cabinets of naturalists in different parts of Europe. The torpedo, or electrical eel, is found in the rivers of Guiana. But the immense number and variety of snakes in this country form one of its chief inconveniences. It is said that several years ago one was killed which measured 33 feet in length, and in the largest part three feet in circumference. The lauha is a peculiar amphibious animal of small size, about the size of a pig four months old, covered with fine short hair; its flesh is preferred to all other kinds of meat. The quassi, the castor-oil nut, the cassia, the palm-oil, the cowhage, the balsam of capivi, and ipecacuanha, are all natives here. An herbaceous plant called troolies grows here, whose leaves are the largest of any yet known; they lie on the ground, and have sometimes attained the almost incredible length of thirty feet, by three feet in width. So admirable a material for covering has not been betowed on this country in vain: most of the houses are thatched with it, and it will last for years without repair. Gum caoutchouc is produced from a large tree in Guiana, and is used for vessels of various kinds and for torches. A small tree called caruna yields a farinaceous nut, from which the Indians prepare a slow poison, the instrument of jealousy or revenge. Still more certain is the Ticuna poison, which is prepared from the roots of the nibbees, that inhabit the entangled forests of these immeasurable swamps, and are a shelter to the panthers, the serpents, and all those monstrous and abominable reptiles that generate in this pestilential atmosphere.

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CHAP. VIII.

Henry VII. authorizes Cabot to make Discoveries. Cabot takes possession of a great Part of North America. Patent granted to Sir Walter Raleigh. London and Plymouth Companies. Puritans persecuted and go to America. Their Character and Sufferings. Maryland an Asylum for the Roman Catholics. Liberal Policy of England to her Settlements. Importance of the American Colonies. Wars with France. Washington's Expeditions. Hopes conceived of his future Celebrity. General Peace. American Commerce limited by Great-Britain. Stamp Act. Opposition to it. Repealed. Declaratory Act. Plan for taxing Glass, Tea, &c. American Opposition, in which Boston takes the lead. Quarrels between the Military and Inhabitants. Three of the latter killed. Letters from Governor Hutchinson intercepted by Dr. Franklin. Dr. Franklin dismissed from his Office.

HAVING discussed in the former chapters of this volume the subject of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries and settlements on the continent of America, we now proceed to those that were made under the auspices of our own country, which will lead us to take a connected view of the History of the United States to the present times; in the course of which we shall, as far as our limits will allow, exhibit a distinct historical, poli-

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tical, and geographical view of the northern continent of America*.

Henry VII. of England, by the exertion of an authority similar to that of pope Alexander †, granted to John Cabot, a Venetian pilot, and his three sons, who were subjects and natives of England, a commission "to navigate all parts of the ocean for the purpose of discovering islands, countries, regions, or provinces, either of Gentiles or Infidels, which have been hitherto unknown to all Christian people, with power to set up his standard, and to take possession of the same as vassals of the crown of England." By virtue of this commission Sebastian Cabot, one of the sons, explored and took possession of a great part of the North American continent, in the name and on behalf of the king of England. This discovery was made in consequence of an attempt to find a north-west passage to China; an enterprise in which he failed, but which led to more important consequences. A. D. 1498.

For the space of more than half a century after the discovery, the English neither navigated the coast nor attempted to establish colonies. The first English patent which was granted for making settlements in the country, was issued by queen Elizabeth to sir Humphrey Gilbert. Shortly after she licensed Mr. Walter, afterwards sir Walter Raleigh, "to search for Heathen lands not inhabited by Christian people," and granted to him, in fee, all the soil within 200 leagues of the places A. D. 1578. A. D. 1584.

* See the Table at the end of the volume.

† See page 24 of this volume.

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where his people should make their dwellings. Under his auspices an inconsiderable colony took possession of that part of the American coast which now forms North Carolina. In honour of the virgin queen, his sovereign, he gave to the whole country the name of Virginia. These first settlers, and others who followed them, were either destroyed by the natives, removed by succeeding navigators, or died without leaving any behind to tell their melancholy story. No permanent settlement was effected till the reign of James the First. He granted letters patent to Thomas Gates and his associates, by which he conferred on them "all those territories in America which were not then possessed by other Christian princes," and which lay between the 34th and 45th degree of north latitude. They were divided into two companies. The one, consisting of adventurers of the city of London, was called the London company; the other consisting of merchants of Plymouth and some other western towns, was called the Plymouth company. The adventurers were empowered to transport thither as many English subjects as should willingly accompany them; and it was declared "that the colonists and their children should enjoy the same liberties as if they had remained or were born within the realm." The month of April is the epoch of the first permanent settlement on the coast of Virginia, the name then given to all that extent of country which now forms the original Thirteen States. The emigrants took possession of a peninsula on the northern side of James River, and erected a town in honour of their sovereign, which they called James-Town. In a few months diseases swept away one half of their number; which greatly dis-

A. D. 1606.

A. D. 1607.

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treased and alarmed the others. Nevertheless, within twenty years from the first foundation of James-Town, upwards of 9000 English subjects had, at different times, migrated thither, of whom at this period only 1800 remained alive.

Thirteen years elapsed after James-Town began to be built, before any permanent settlement was effected in the northern colony. Various attempts for that purpose had failed, nor was the arduous business accomplished till it was undertaken by men who were influenced by higher motives than the mere extension of agriculture or commerce. These were denominated in England Puritans, from a desire of farther reformation in the established church, and particularly for their aversion from certain popish habits and ceremonies which they contended led to idolatry. So violent was the zeal of the majority for uniformity in matters of religion, that popular preachers among the Puritans were suspended, imprisoned, and ruined, for not using garments or ceremonies which their adversaries acknowledged to be indifferent. And towards the end of queen Elizabeth's reign an act was passed for punishing those who refused to come to church, or were present at any conventicle or meeting. The punishment in certain cases was perpetual banishment; and upon those who should return without licence, death was to be inflicted. This cruel law increased the number of Puritans. Some suffered death, others were banished; and not a few, to avoid these evils, voluntarily exiled themselves from their native country. Of this number was a congregation under the pastoral care of Mr. John Robinson, who, to elude their persecutors, removed to Holland. There they continued ten years highly esteemed

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by the natives; when, on account of the morals of the Dutch, which in their opinion were too lax, they began to think of a second removal, lest their offspring should conform to the bad examples daily before them. They had also an ardent desire of propagating religion in foreign lands, and of separating themselves from all the existing establishments in Europe. An application was made to James for full liberty of conscience; but he promised only to connive at and not molest them. They nevertheless ventured, and sailed to the number of one hundred and one from Plymouth, and arrived at Cape Cod in November 1620. They formed themselves into a body politic under the crown of England, and employed themselves in making discoveries till the end of the year. Within six months of their landing they buried 44 persons out of the number that went out. Animated with a high degree of religious zeal, they supported every hardship with fortitude and resolution. The prospect of an exemption from ecclesiastical courts, and of an undisturbed liberty of worshipping their Creator in the way that was agreeable to their own consciences, were, in their estimation, a sufficient counterbalance to all that they underwent.

A. D. 1620.

This handful of people laid the foundation of New-England, and from them sprung all those who have since inhabited Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island. The Puritans, to which sect the first emigrants belonged, were a plain industrious people, and strict observers of the moral and social duties. According to their principles, the Bible was the sole rule both of faith and practice; and the im-

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position of articles of faith, modes of worship, &c. was subversive of natural rights, and an usurpation of power not delegated to any man or body of men whatever. It is to be lamented that these principles of religious liberty ceased to operate on the emigrants soon after they came into the possession of power. In the eleventh year after their arrival in America, they resolved that "no man should be admitted to the freedom of their body politic, but such as were members of their churches;" and afterwards, "that none but such should share in the administration of civil government or have a voice in any election." In a few years more they had so far forgotten their own sufferings, as to press for uniformity in religion, and to turn persecutors in order to accomplish it. As the intolerance of England peopled Massachusetts, so the intolerance of that province made many emigrate from it, and gave rise to various distant settlements, which in the course of years were formed into other provincial establishments. Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and New-Hampshire, sprung from Massachusetts, and their early growth was greatly accelerated by her impolitic zeal for uniformity. The country which was subdivided into these four provinces had been called New England ever since the year 1614. The propriety of classing them under one general name became more evident, from their being settled by the same kind of people, connected with each other by blood, uniformity of manners, and a similarity of religious and political sentiments. The early population of this northern country was rapid. In the short space of twenty years from its first settlement, 21,200 persons arrived in 298 vessels; when, from a change in public affairs, the A. D. 1631.

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emigration from Old to New England in a great measure ceased.

A. D. 1633. Maryland was the third English colony settled in North America; but the first which from its beginning was erected into a province of the empire. The first emigration to this place consisted of about 200 gentlemen, chiefly of the Roman catholic religion. Calvert, their leader, purchased the right of the aborigines, and with their consent took possession of the town, which he called St. Mary's. He continued carefully to cultivate their friendship, and lived with them on terms of perfect amity. The lands which had thus been ceded were planted with facility, because they had already undergone the discipline of Indian tillage. Food was therefore easily procured. The Roman catholics, unhappy in their native land, and desirous of a peaceful asylum, went over in great numbers to Maryland. Lord Baltimore, to whom the province had been granted, laid the foundation of its future prosperity on the broad basis of security to property, and of freedom in religion. While Virginia persecuted the Puritans, numbers of them passed over to this new province, the assembly of which had enacted, "that no persons, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, should be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof." The prudence of one colony acquired what the folly of the other had thrown away. Thus in Massachusetts the Puritans persecuted various sects, and the church of England in Virginia harassed those who dissented from the established religion; while the Roman catholics of Maryland tolerated and protected the professors of all denominations.

The distractions which convulsed England for

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twenty-five years left no leisure for colonizing; but as soon as Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors, it was resumed with greater spirit than ever. By charters granted by this sovereign, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and Providence plantations, were rendered pure democracies. Every power, legislative, judicial, and executive, was invested in the freemen of the corporation, or their delegates; and the colony was under no obligation to communicate its legislative acts to the national sovereign. A. D. 1662.

In the succeeding year a patent was granted to lord Clarendon and others, comprehending that extent of country which now forms the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. In the following year king Charles gave to his brother James, duke of York, a patent which included New-York and New-Jersey. A. D. 1663.

At this period Charles gave to William Penn a patent for Pennsylvania; and some time after he obtained a farther grant of the land on the western side of the Delaware, and south of Pennsylvania, which was formed into a separate government, and is now the state of Delaware. Notwithstanding these charters, Mr. Penn did not think himself invested with the right of the soil till he had purchased it from the native proprietors. A. D. 1681.

In this manner was the English North American continent parcelled out into distinct governments. Little did the founders foresee of the consequences both good and evil that were to result to the Old World from discovering and colonizing the New. When we consider the immense quantities of gold and silver which have flowed from it

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into Europe; the subsequent increase of industry and population; the prodigious extension of commerce, manufactures, and navigation; and the influence of the whole on manners and arts; we see such an accumulation of good, as leads us to rank Columbus among the greatest benefactors of the human race. But when we consider the injustice done to the natives; the extirpation of many of their numerous nations, whose names are now not even known; the havoc made among the first settlers; the slavery of the Africans, to which America has furnished the temptation; and the many wars which it has occasioned; we contemplate such a mass of misery as may lead one to doubt whether the evil has not outweighed the good.

The advantage which the emigrants to America expected from the protection of their native sovereign, and the prospect of aggrandizement which the monarch anticipated from the extension of his empire, made the former very solicitous for charters, and the latter very ready to grant them. Neither reasoned clearly on their nature, or well understood their extent. In less than eight years 1500 miles of sea-coast were granted away; and so little did they who gave or they who accepted of charters understand their own transactions, that in several cases the same ground was covered by contradictory grants, some of which extended to the South-Sea, over a country whose breadth is yet unknown, and which to this day is unexplored.

Ideal as these charters were, they answered a temporary purpose. The colonists reposed confidence in them, and were excited to industry on their credit. And it is worthy of observation, that of the thirteen colonies, no one, Georgia

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excepted, was settled at the expense of government. Towards the settlement of that southern frontier, considerable sums have at different times been granted by parliament; but the twelve more northern provinces had been wholly settled by private adventurers. Nor does it appear that any compensation for their lands was ever made to the aborigines of America by the crown or parliament of England. But policy as well as justice led the colonists to purchase and pay for what they occupied. This was done in almost every settlement; and they prospered most, who by justice and kindness took the greatest pains to conciliate the good will of the natives.

The legal and constitutional history of the colonies, in their early periods, affords but little instruction *. It is sufficient to observe, that in less than eighty years from the first permanent English settlement in North America, the two original patents granted to the Plymouth and London companies were divided and subdivided into twelve distinct and unconnected provinces; and in fifty years more a thirteenth, by the name of Georgia, was added to the southern extreme of the other establishments. To each of these there was ultimately granted a form of government, resembling, in its most essential parts, that which was established in the parent state; and agreeably to the spirit of the British constitution, ample provision was made for the liberties of the inhabitants. In some of the provinces the inhabitants chose their governors and other public officers, and their legislatures were under little or no control. In others, the crown delegated most of its

* See Table II. at the end of the volume.

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power to particular persons, who were also invested with the property of the soil. In those which were most immediately dependent on the king, he exercised no higher prerogatives over the colonists than he did over their fellow subjects in England; and his power over the provincial legislative assemblies was not greater than what he was constitutionally vested with over the house of commons in the mother country.

It is remarkable, that though the English possessions in America were far inferior in natural riches to those which fell to the lot of other Europeans, yet the security of property and of liberty derived from the English constitution, gave them a consequence to which the colonies of other powers have never attained. The wise and liberal policy of England towards her colonies, during the first century and a half after their settlement, had a considerable influence in exalting them to this pre-eminence. She gave them full liberty to govern themselves, and to pursue their respective interests in such manner as they thought proper. Their trade was open to every individual in the British dominions: they participated in that excellent form of government with which the parent isle was blessed, and which has raised it to an admirable height of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; and trial by jury was established among them.

From the operation of these general principles, the American settlements increased in number, wealth, and resources, with a rapidity which surpassed all previous calculation. Neither ancient nor modern history can produce an example of colonies governed with equal wisdom, or flourishing with equal rapidity. In the short space of one

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hundred and fifty years their numbers had increased to three millions, and their commerce to such a degree as to be more than a third of that of Great-Britain. They also extended their settlements fifteen hundred miles on the sea-coast, and three hundred miles to the westward.

The good effects of a wise policy and equal government were not only discernible in raising the colonies of England to a pre-eminence over those of other European nations, but in raising some among themselves to greater importance than others. Their relative population and wealth were by no means correspondent to their respective advantages of soil and climate. The New-England provinces, though possessed of comparatively a barren country, improved much faster than others which were blessed with a superior soil and milder climate. Their first settlers were animated with a high degree of that religious fervour which excites to great undertakings. They also granted their vacant lands to individuals, who personally cultivated them. In their towns they extended the benefits of education and religious instruction. By these means industry and morality were propagated, and useful knowledge generally diffused; so that, in proportion to their respective numbers, it is probable that no other country in the world contained more sober, orderly citizens, and fewer who were profligate and abandoned. Luxury was estranged from their borders. Enervating wealth and pinching poverty were both equally rare. Early marriages, and a numerous offspring, were common; hence population increased, and the inhabitants generally possessed that happy state of mediocrity which favours the improvement both of mind and body.

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New-York joined New-England. Pennsylvania, which was chiefly settled with quakers, and which gave perfect liberty of conscience, and an exact equality to all sects, was equally flourishing with New-England. The progressive improvement of Pennsylvania may be estimated from the increase of its trade. In the year 1704 that province imported goods from the mother country, amounting in value only to 11,499l.; but in 1772 to the value of more than half a million sterling:—an increase of nearly fifty to one.

In Maryland and Virginia a policy less favourable to population took place. The church of England was incorporated with the first settlement of Virginia; and in the lapse of time it also became the established religion of Maryland. In both these provinces that church possessed a legal pre-eminence, and was maintained at the expense not only of its own members, but of those of all other denominations: which deterred great numbers, especially the presbyterians who had emigrated from Ireland, from settling within the limits of these governments, and fomented a spirit of discord between those who belonged to, and those who dissented from, the established church.

In these and the other southern provinces domestic slavery was common. Though it was not by law forbidden any where, yet there were comparatively very few slaves to the north of Maryland. The religion of the quakers produced their united opposition to all traffic in the human race. Many individuals of other sects discountenanced it; but the principal ground of difference on this head, between the northern and southern provinces, arose less from religious principles than from climate and local circumstances. Slavery is,

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however, at all times attended with mischievous consequences. It is inimical to the proper education of youth. Industry and temperance, virtues essential to the health and vigour of both mind and body, are with difficulty practised where the labour of slaves procures an abundance not only of the necessaries but of the delicacies of life, and where perpetual opportunities occur for early, excessive, and enervating indulgences. Besides, in settlements where the soil is cultivated by slaves, it soon becomes unfashionable for freemen to labour; than which no greater evil can befal a country. Idleness is the parent of vice, while labour of all kinds favours and facilitates the practice of virtue.

By the influence of these causes, the southern provinces, though possessed of the most fruitful soil and the mildest climate, were far inferior to their neighbours in strength, population, industry, and wealth; and this inferiority increased or diminished with the number of slaves in each province compared with the number of freemen.

The first emigrants from England for colonizing America, left the mother country at a time when the dread of arbitrary power was the predominant passion of the nation. Except the charter of Georgia in the year 1732, all the English colonies obtained their charters, and their greatest number of European settlers, between the years 1603 and 1688. During the whole of this period was that great struggle between prerogative and privilege carried on in England, till it terminated in a revolution highly favourable to the liberties of the people. A variety of concurring causes led the inhabitants of the colonies to cherish an ardent love of independence, and a

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desire to maintain all those rights and privileges which they conceived to be inherent to their situation. They had not only the image but the substance of the English constitution. They chose most of their magistrates, and paid them all. They had, in effect, the sole direction of their internal government. The chief mark of their subordination consisted in making no laws repugnant to the laws of their mother country; in their submitting to have such laws, as they did make, repealed by the king; and in obeying those restrictions that were laid on their trade by parliament.

Under such favourable circumstances, the colonies in the New World had advanced nearly to the magnitude of a nation, while the greater part of Europe was almost wholly ignorant of their progress. And, indeed, they themselves, though gradually rising higher in the scale of political importance, did not appear sensible of their own consequence. One of the first events which drew on the colonies a share of public attention,

A. D. 1745. was the taking Louisburg from France, while that country was at war with Great-Britain. This war was scarcely ended when another began in which the colonies were distinguished parties. It was commenced in the following manner: A grant of six hundred thousand

A. D. 1749. acres of land in the neighbourhood of the Ohio was made out in favour of certain persons in Westminster, London, and Virginia, who had associated under the title of the Ohio company. At this time France was in possession of the country on both sides of the mouth of the Missisippi, as well as of Canada, and wished to form a communication between the two extremi-

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ties of her territories in North America. She was therefore alarmed at the scheme in agitation by the Ohio company, as the land granted to them lay between the northern and southern settlements. Remonstrances against British encroachments, as they were called, having been made in vain by the governor of Canada, the French at length seized some British subjects; and, persisting in their claims to the country on the Ohio as part of Canada, strengthened themselves by erecting new forts in its vicinity, and at length began to seize and plunder every British trader found on any part of the river. This, at first, produced retaliation; but upon the violences being repeated, the governor of Virginia determined to send a suitable person to the French commandant, to demand the reason of his hostile proceedings, and to insist on his evacuating a fort he had lately built. Major Washington was the person pitched on for this service.—He was only twenty-one years of age when he set out on an expedition which was more than four hundred miles distant, and one half of the route led through a wilderness inhabited only by Indians. He proceeded on foot, attended by a single companion, with his provisions on his back. He arrived, and delivered his message to the French commandant; but it made no impression. It was, therefore, resolved to oppose with arms the encroachments of the French on the British territories. Virginia raised three hundred men, put them under the command of Washington, now a colonel, and sent them towards the Ohio. An engagement took place, in which the French were defeated. With nine hundred men, besides Indians, they returned to the charge: against these

A. D. 1753.

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Washington made a brave defence, but at length accepted of honourable terms of capitulation.

The policy of repressing the encroachments of the French on the British colonies was generally approved both in England and America. It was, therefore, determined to take effectual measures for driving them from the Ohio, and also for reducing Niagara, Crown-Point, and the other posts which they held within the limits claimed by the king of Great-Britain. To effect the first purpose, general Braddock was sent from Ireland to Virginia with two regiments, and was there joined by as many more. He was a brave man, but destitute of the other qualifications of a great officer. He slighted the country militia and the Virginia officers. Colonel Washington begged permission to go before him and scour the woods with his provincial troops: but this was refused. The general with fourteen hundred men pushed on incautiously till he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, by whom he was defeated and mortally wounded. The British troops were thrown into confusion; but the provincials, more used to Indian fighting, were less disconcerted. They continued in an unbroken body under colonel Washington *, and, by covering the retreat of the regulars, prevented their being cut off entirely.

* The bravery and patriotism of colonel, afterwards general Washington, were so conspicuous at this period, that the most important services were expected of him. In a sermon preached before a company of volunteers in Virginia, August 17, 1755, by the Rev. Samuel Davies, the author refers to him in the following words: "I may point out to the public that heroic youth, colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country."

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For two or three years after this, the war was carried on against France without vigour or success: but when Mr. Pitt was placed at the head of the ministry, public affairs assumed a new aspect. Victory every where crowned the British arms; and in a short time the French were dispossessed not only of all the British territories on which they had encroached, but also of Quebec, the capital of their ancient province, Canada *.

In the course of this war, some of the colonies made exertions so far beyond their reasonable quota, as to merit a reimbursement from the national treasury: but this was not universally the case. In consequence of internal disputes, the necessary supplies had not been raised in due time by others of the provincial assemblies: this did not accord with the vigorous and decisive genius of Mr. Pitt, who is said to have told Mr. Franklin, "that when the war closed, if he should be in the ministry, he would take measures to prevent the colonies from having a power to refuse or delay the supplies that might be wanted for national purposes." As often, however, as money or men were wanted from the colonies, requisitions were made to their legislatures, which were generally and cheerfully complied with. Their exertions, with a few exceptions, were great, and manifested a serious desire to carry into effect the plans of Great-Britain for reducing the power of France.

In the prosecution of this war, the colonies fitted out four hundred privateers, and furnished nearly twenty-four thousand men to co-operate with the British regular forces in North America.

* See Mavor's History of England, vol. ii. p. 394—5.

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The success of the former; the activity of the latter; the convenience of their harbours; and their contiguity to the West-India islands, made the colonies great acquisitions to Britain, and formidable adversaries to France. From their growing importance the latter had much to fear. Their continued union with Great-Britain threatened the subversion of the commerce and American possessions of France.

A. D. 1763. At the general peace, Canada was ceded to Great-Britain by France; and the two Floridas by Spain: her possessions, therefore, in the New World, were of an extent equal in dimensions to several of the kingdoms of Europe. The possession of Canada in the North, and of the Floridas in the South, made her sole mistress of the North American continent.

From the first settlement of English America, till the close of this war, the conduct of Great-Britain towards her colonies affords an useful lesson to those who are disposed to colonization.—She treated them as a judicious mother does her dutiful children. They shared in every privilege belonging to her native sons, and but slightly felt the inconveniences of subordination. The catalogue of their grievances was small, and chiefly related to a few acts which operated against colonial manufactures. These were mostly evaded, but if carried into execution would have been slightly inconvenient, and only to a few.

A. D. 1764. Till this period the colonial regulations seemed to have had no other object in view but the common good of the whole empire: exceptions to the contrary were few, and had no appearance of system. When the approach of the colonies to manhood made them more ca-

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pable of resisting impositions, Great-Britain changed the ancient system under which her colonies had long flourished. When policy would have dictated relaxation of authority, she rose in her demands, and multiplied her restraints. For some time before and after the termination of the war, a considerable intercourse had been carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, consisting of the manufactures of Great-Britain, imported by the former and sold by the latter, by which the British colonies acquired gold and silver, and were enabled to make remittances to the mother country. This trade, though it did not clash with the spirit of the British navigation laws, was forbidden by their letter. On account of the advantages which all parties reaped from this intercourse, it had long been connived at by persons in power; but, at the period alluded to, some new regulations were adopted, by which it was almost destroyed. So sudden a stoppage was a serious blow to the northern colonies. It was their misfortune, that though they stood in need of vast quantities of British manufactures, their country produced very little that afforded a direct remittance to pay for them. They were, therefore, under a necessity of seeking elsewhere a market for their produce, and, by a circuitous route, acquiring the means of supporting their credit with the mother country. This they found by trading with the Spanish and French colonies in their neighbourhood. From them they obtained gold, silver, and valuable commodities, the ultimate profits of which centered in Great-Britain. This intercourse gave life to business of every denomination; and why it should be stopped, could not be accounted for by the Americans, without supposing that the rulers of Great-Britain were jealous

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of their adventurous commercial spirit. Their actual sufferings were great, but their apprehensions were greater. Instead of viewing the parent state, as they had long done, in the light of an affectionate mother, they conceived her as beginning to be influenced by the narrow views of an illiberal step-dame.

In September, the trade between the British, French, and Spanish colonies, was in some degree legalized, but under circumstances that brought no relief to the colonists. Indeed, the act passed on the occasion granted certain duties to the king upon goods imported, which were the produce of a colony not under the dominion of his majesty. Till that act passed, none avowedly for the purpose of revenue was to be found in the parliamentary statute book. The wording of it made the colonists fear that parliament would go on in charging them with such taxes as they pleased. The imposition of duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, was considered as a dangerous innovation.

The national debt of Great-Britain amounted at this period to nearly an hundred and fifty millions; and while the minister was digesting plans for diminishing this heavy burthen, as it was then thought, he conceived the idea of raising a substantial revenue in the British colonies, from taxes laid by the parliament of the parent state. This in England was a very popular project. And in March was passed
A. D. 1765. the memorable *stamp* act, by which it was enacted, that certain instruments of writing, as bills, bonds, &c. should not be valid, unless they were drawn on stamped paper, on which a duty was laid. No sooner was this act published in America, than it raised a general

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alarm. The people were filled with apprehensions at an act which they supposed to be an attack on their constitutional rights. The colonies petitioned the king and parliament for a redress of the grievance, and formed associations for the purpose of preventing the importation and use of British manufactures until the act should be repealed. In this opposition Virginia took the lead: a number of resolutions were passed by the house of burgesses, which declared "those to be enemies to their country, who should, by writing or speaking, maintain that any person or persons, other than the general assembly of this colony, have any right or power to impose taxes on the people."

Upon reading these resolutions, the boldness and novelty of them affected one of the members to such a degree, that he cried out "Treason, treason!" They were, nevertheless, well received by the people, and forwarded to the other provinces. Till these appeared, it was the general opinion that the act would be quietly adopted. The countenance of so respectable a colony as Virginia confirmed the wavering and emboldened the timid. Opposition assumed a bolder face. The fire of liberty blazed forth from the press; some well-timed publications set the rights of the colonists in a plain but strong point of view; the tongues and pens of spirited citizens laboured in kindling the latent sparks of patriotism, and the flame spread from breast to breast till it became general.

A new mode of displaying resentment against the friends of the stamp act, of which there were many in America, began in Massachusetts, and was followed by the other colonies. A few gentlemen hung in effigy the stamp-master at Boston;

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great numbers from town and country came to see it. A spirit of enthusiasm was diffused among the spectators, and in the evening it was cut down and carried in procession by the populace, shouting "Liberty and property for ever! No stamps!" They next pulled down a new building lately erected by Mr. Oliver the stamp-master; thence they proceeded to his dwelling-house, before which they beheaded the effigy, and at the same time broke the windows of his house. These violences were repeated upon the dwellings of several officers under government, both at Massachusetts and the adjacent colonies.

From the decided opposition to the act, which had been exhibited in the colonies, it became necessary for Great-Britain to enforce or repeal it. Both methods of proceeding had supporters. Dr. Franklin, who on the passing of the act had written to his friend in America, and emphatically said, "The sun of liberty is set: you must light up the candles of industry and economy," was afterwards examined at the bar of the house of commons, and contributed to remove prejudices, and to produce a disposition friendly to the repeal.

Some speakers of great celebrity and weight in both houses of parliament denied the right of taxing the colonies: among these were lord Camden in the house of peers, and Mr. Pitt in the house of commons. "My position," says lord Camden, "is this, I repeat it, I will maintain it to my last hour: Taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more, it is an eternal law of nature. For, whatever is a man's own, no other man has a right to take from him without his consent, and whoever does it commits a robbery." Mr. Pitt

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justified the colonists in opposing the stamp act. "You have no right," said he, "to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow-subjects so lost to every sense of virtue, as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." At length the repeal of the stamp act was finally carried. This event gave great joy in London. Ships in the river Thames displayed their colours, and houses were generally illuminated in many parts of the metropolis. The news of the repeal was received in the colonies with universal joy, and the trade between them and Great-Britain was renewed on the most liberal footing. A. D. 1766.

The stamp act was not repealed on American principles; nor without declaring "that parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." The bulk of the Americans, intoxicated with the advantage gained, overlooked the statute which is generally known by the title of the *declaratory act*, and which in one short sentence not only deprived them of liberty and property, but of every right incident to humanity.

It was evident to the thoughtful and considerate, that from the ungracious manner in which the stamp act had been repealed, ministers had not abandoned the project of raising a revenue in the colonies. The stamp act was brought forward and carried under the auspicies of Mr. Grenville; and now Mr. Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, pawned his credit to accomplish that in which Mr. Grenville had failed. He accordingly brought into parliament a bill for granting duties in the British colonies on glass, A. D. 1767.

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paper, painter's colours, and tea, which was afterwards passed into a law. This act kindled the resentment of the Americans, and excited a general opposition to the measure; so that parliament in the course of three years abandoned the whole tax, except three pence per pound on all tea imported.

A. D. 1770.

Previously to this, both houses of parliament had concurred in a joint address to his majesty, in which they pledged themselves to support him in such farther measures as might be found necessary to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws of Massachusetts, and beseeched him to direct the governor to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information touching all treasons, &c. committed within the government since the 30th day of December 1767, in order to bring the offenders to trial within the realm of Great-Britain, pursuant to the provisions of the statute of the 35th of Henry VIII. The latter part of this address, which proposed the bringing delinquents from Massachusetts to be tried in Great-Britain for crimes committed in America, underwent many severe animadversions, and led the house of burgesses of Virginia to adopt some very strong resolutions expressive of their opposition to such proceedings. These were imitated in other colonies. And at Boston they contemptuously re-shipped the goods sent out for sale. This, it is probable, was the ultimate cause of the repeal of all the duties, except of that on tea. Yet this, however trifling, kept alive the jealousy of the colonists, and their opposition to parliamentary taxation continued and increased.

It was not the inconvenience of paying the duty that was the cause of the opposition; it was the

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principle, which if once admitted would have subjected the colonies to unlimited parliamentary taxation, without the privilege of being represented. The right, abstractedly considered, was denied, and the smallest attempt to establish the claim by precedent was uniformly resisted. The colonies, therefore, entered into measures to encourage their own manufactures, and to retrench the uses of foreign superfluities, so long as the free importation of tea was prohibited.

From the royal and ministerial assurances given in favour of America, in the year 1769, and the subsequent repeal in the next year of five-sixths of the duties which had been imposed in 1767, together with the consequent renewal of the mercantile intercourse between Great-Britain and the colonies, many hoped that the contention between the two countries was finally closed. In all the provinces, except Massachusetts, appearances seemed to favour that opinion. Many incidents operated there to the prejudice of that harmony which had begun elsewere to return. The stationing a military force among them was a fruitful source of uneasiness. The royal army had been brought thither, with the avowed design of enforcing submission to the mother country. Speeches from the throne, and addresses from parliament, had taught the soldiers to look upon the inhabitants as a factious, turbulent people, who aimed at throwing off all subordination to Great-Britain. They, on the other hand, were accustomed to look on the army as instruments of tyranny, sent on purpose to dragoon them out of their liberties. Reciprocal insults soured the tempers, and mutual injuries embittered the passions, of the opposite parties. But the first open

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rupture took place on the 2d of March, between a private soldier of the 29th regiment and an inhabitant. On the 5th a more dreadful scene was presented. The soldiers, when under arms, were pressed upon, insulted, and pelted by a mob, who dared them to fire. In this situation one of the soldiers, who had received a blow, fired at the supposed aggressor. This was followed by a single discharge from six others. Three of the inhabitants were killed, and five dangerously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion, and nothing but the promise of removing the troops out of the town prevented the inhabitants from falling on the soldiers. The killed were buried in one vault, and in a most respectful manner, to express the indignation of the people at the slaughter of their brethren by soldiers quartered among them, in violation of their civil liberties. Preston, the captain who commanded, and the party who fired on the people, were committed to prison, and afterwards tried. Two were found guilty of manslaughter, and the rest were acquitted.

The events of this tragical night sunk deep in the minds of the people, and were made subservient to important purposes. The anniversary of it was observed with great solemnity. Eloquent orators were successively employed to deliver an annual oration, to preserve the remembrance of it fresh in their minds.

The obstacles to returning harmony were increased by making the governor and judges in Massachusetts independent of the province. Formerly they had been paid by yearly grants from the assembly, but about this time provision was made for paying their salaries by the crown. This they

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made as the foundation of an impeachment against Mr. Justice Oliver, before the governor; but he excepted to their proceedings as unconstitutional. The assembly, nevertheless, gained two important points; they rendered the governor more odious to the inhabitants, and increased the public respect for themselves, as the counterpart of the British house of commons, and as the guardians of the rights of the people.

A personal animosity subsisted between governor Hutchinson and some distinguished patriots in Massachusetts. The flame was increased to a high pitch by letters that had been written by Hutchinson, Oliver, and others, to persons in power and office in England; in which they recommended measures to secure the obedience of the people. These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of the province, who transmitted them to Boston. The indignation which was excited by this discovery knew no bounds. The house of assembly sent a petition and remonstrance to the king, charging their governor, &c. with being traitors to their country, and with giving false and partial information: at the same time they prayed for justice against them, and their speedy removal from their places. A. D. 1774.

The consequence of this petition and remonstrance was the acquittal of the governor, &c. and the removal of Dr. Franklin from the office which he held under government, as deputy post-master. This was considered as an insult offered to their public agent, who was bound as such to give his constituents every information respecting their chartered rights. But Dr. Franklin's only offence was not the transmission of these letters: he had taken a decided part in favour of America; had

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written some small tracts which were obnoxious to government, particularly one entitled "Rules for reducing a great Empire to a small one," and was, in fact, become the idol of his country.

For ten years there had been but little intermission to the disputes between Great-Britain and her colonies, and the ground of the controversy was canvassed in every company. The more the Americans read, reasoned, and conversed on the subject, the more they were convinced of their right to the exclusive disposal of their own property. This was followed by a determination to resist all encroachments on that palladium of British liberty. They were as fully satisfied of their right to refuse and resist parliamentary taxation, as the ruling powers of Great-Britain were of their right to demand and enforce submission to it.

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CHAP. IX.

Opposition to the Revenue System. East-India Company send Tea. Bostonians throw it overboard. Conduct of Parliament towards Boston and Canada. Americans assemble. Appoint a Congress. An Army appointed. Seize the Cannon and Ammunition in Rhode-Island, and at Portsmouth. Battle of Lexington. General Gage's Proclamation. Battle of Bunker's Hill. Its Consequences. Meeting of Congress. Their Arrangements. General Washington appointed Commander in Chief. Attack on Quebec. Defeat and Death of Montgomery. Termination of the Royal Government.

WE are now entering upon a new æra of the American controversy. The duty on tea had been retained when the other duties had been given up, avowedly for the purpose of exhibiting the right of parliament to tax the colonies. The Americans denied that right, and discontinued the importation of the commodity; and while no attempt was made to introduce tea into the colonies against this declared sense of the inhabitants, these opposing claims were in no danger of collision.

As the resolution of the colonies not to import or consume tea had in a great measure deprived the English government of a revenue from this quarter, a scheme was formed for introducing tea into America under cover of the East-India company. For this purpose an act was passed enabling the company to export all sorts of teas, duty free,

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to any place whatever. Several ships laden with it were immediately sent to the American colonies, and factors appointed to receive and dispose of their cargoes.

The Americans, determined to oppose the revenue system in every possible shape, considered the attempt of the East-India company to evade the resolutions of the colonies, and dispose of their teas in America, as an indirect mode of taxation, sanctioned by authority of parliament. They assembled in various places, and in the large commercial towns took measures to prevent the landing of the tea. Committees were appointed, and armed with extensive powers, to inspect merchants' books, to propose tests, and make use of other means to frustrate the designs of the East-India company. The same spirit pervaded the people from New-Hampshire to Georgia; and at Philadelphia the inhabitants passed some strong resolutions, declaring all those to be enemies to their country, who should countenance in any way the unloading or the sale of the obnoxious article. But at Boston the tea shared a more violent fate. Sensible that no legal measures could prevent its being landed, and that, if once landed, it would as certainly be disposed of, a number of men disguised as Indians, on the 18th of December, entered the ships, and threw overboard three hundred and forty chests of it, which was the proportion belonging to the East-India company. And with so much union and system did the colonists act, that there was not a single chest of any of the cargoes sent out by the East-India company, on this occasion, sold for their benefit.

A. D. 1773.

No sooner did the news of this destruction of

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the tea reach Great-Britain, than the parliament resolved to punish that devoted town: accordingly an act was passed to "discontinue the landing and discharging, lading, and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandizes, at the town of Boston or within the harbour." A. D. 1774.

This act threw the inhabitants of Massachusetts into the greatest consternation. But fortunately for them it was not the only statute made at that time: but it was also enacted, that the town-meetings, sanctioned by charter, should be either discontinued, or subject to such restrictions as rendered them of no value; and that persons indicted for any capital offence committed in obstructing the powers of magistracy, might at the pleasure of the governor be sent to another colony, or even to Great-Britain, to take their trial for such offence.

Petitions against these bills, couched in strong and pointed language, were presented to parliament, as they were passing the two houses; and the lords of the minority entered a solemn protest against the passing them. On one of these occasions colonel Barré, who had ever been the advocate of liberty, concluded an admirable speech by saying, "You are offering the last of human outrages to the people of America, by subjecting them in effect to military execution: instead of sending them the olive branch, you have sent the naked sword. What madness is it that prompts you to attempt obtaining that by force, which may, with so much more facility and certainty, be procured by requisition? Retract your odious exertions of authority, and remember that the first step towards making them contribute to your wants is to reconcile them to your government."

The parliament did not stop here; but before

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they completed the memorable session, they passed an act respecting the government of Quebec. The principal objects of the bill were, to ascertain the limits of the province, which were now made to extend southward to the Ohio, and westward to the banks of the Missisippi, and northward to the boundary of the Hudson's bay company; to establish a legislative council, the members of which were appointed by, and removeable at the pleasure of, the crown; to confirm French laws, and a trial without jury in civil cases: to secure to the Roman catholic clergy the legal enjoyment of their tithes from those who were not of their own religion. The revenue of the province was consigned to the support of an unlimited civil list, and the administration of justice; the judges holding their offices and salaries during pleasure.

Among the more southern colonies, it was imagined that this bill was intended to conciliate the inhabitants of Canada, and make them fit instruments in the hands of government to reduce them to a state of slavery. But these measures did not intimidate the Americans: they rather served to confirm their former apprehensions of the evil designs of government, and to unite the colonies in their opposition. A correspondence of opinion with respect to the unconstitutional acts of parliament produced an uniformity of proceedings in the colonies. Most of them entered into spirited resolutions, on this occasion, to unite with Massachusetts in a decided opposition to the unconstitutional measures of the parliament. The 1st of June, the day on which the Boston port-bill was to take place, was appointed to be kept as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, throughout the colonies, to seek the Divine direction and

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aid, in that critical and gloomy juncture of affairs. This act of devotion was considered by the people as an humble appeal to heaven for the justice of their cause, and designed to manifest their dependence on the Almighty for success in maintaining it against their hostile brethren. The prayers and discourses of the clergy, who were friends to their suffering country, and who had by their exemplary conduct secured the confidence of the people, had great influence in encouraging their hearers to engage in defence of their rights: and to them has been justly ascribed no inconsiderable share of the success and victory that crowned the American arms.

The minds of the people being thus prepared, the friends of liberty of Massachusetts petitioned the governor to convene the assembly; which being refused, a general meeting of the inhabitants was called together. About eight thousand met, and passed several spirited resolutions, in which it was determined to assemble a continental congress. In this the people generally concurred; and deputies being appointed, the congress met on the 26th of October, 1774.

In this first session the proceedings were cool, deliberate, and loyal; but they were marked with unanimity and vigour. They first drew up a statement of their rights; then a petition to the king. They afterwards signed an association to suspend the importation of British goods, and the exportation of American produce, until their grievances should be redressed. They sent an address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, and another to the people of America: in the former they enumerated the oppressions of parliament, and called upon their British brethren not to aid the ministry in en-

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slaving their American subjects: in the latter they endeavoured to confirm the people in a spirited and unanimous determination to defend their constitutional rights.

In the mean time, every thing in Massachusetts wore the appearance of opposition by force. A new council for the governor had been appointed by the crown; new judges were appointed, and attempted to proceed in the execution of their office. But the juries refused to be sworn in under them; and in some counties the people assembled to prevent the courts from entering upon business.

The day for the annual muster of the militia approached. General Gage, the governor, apprehensive of some violence, had the precaution to seize the magazines of ammunition, and stores at Cambridge and Charlestown, and lodged them in Boston. This measure, with the fortifying of that neck of land which joins Boston to the main land at Roxbury, caused an universal alarm and ferment. Several thousand people assembled, and it was with difficulty they could be restrained from falling upon the British troops.

A general assembly had been summoned to meet previously to this; and notwithstanding the writs had been countermanded by the governor's proclamation, on account of the violence of the times, and the resignation of several of the new counsellors, yet representatives were chosen by the people, who met at Salem, resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and adjourned to Concord, about twenty miles from Charlestown. On their meeting there, they chose Mr. Hancock president, and proceeded to business.

This congress addressed the governor with a rehearsal of their distresses, and took the necessary

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steps for defending their rights. They regulated the militia, made provision for supplying the treasury and furnishing the people with arms; and such was their enthusiasm and union, that the recommendations of the provincial congress had the force of laws.

General Gage, governor of Massachusetts, was incensed at these measures: he declared in his answer to their address, that Britain could never harbour the black design of enslaving her subjects; and he published a proclamation in which he insinuated that such proceedings amounted to rebellion. He also ordered barracks to be erected for the soldiers, but found great difficulty in procuring labourers either in Boston or New-York.

The governor's proclamation was unavailing; the provincial congress appointed a committee to draw up a plan for the immediate defence of the province. It was resolved to enlist a number of the inhabitants, under the name of minute men, who were under obligation to turn out at a minute's warning. Priddle, Ward, and Pomeroy, were elected officers to command those minute men, and the militia, in case they should be called to action. A committee of safety, and one for supplies, were appointed.

The same congress met again in November, and raised twelve thousand men, one-fourth of whom were minute men, and received immediate pay. They also sent to New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut, to inform them of the steps taken, and to request their co-operation in making up an army of twenty thousand men. Committees of these several colonies met, and settled their plans. The period of commencing opposition to Gage's troops was determined to be

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whenever they marched out with their baggages ammunition, and artillery.

A proclamation had been issued by the king, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Britain, which reached America in the latter end of the year 1774. Immediately the people of Rhode-Island seized upon and removed from the public battery forty pieces of cannon: soon after four hundred men attacked the castle at Portsmouth; they sustained a fire from three four-pounders and small arms; but before they could be ready for a second fire, the assailants stormed the fort: some secured and confined the garrison, while others broke open the powder-house, and took away the contents.

A. D. 1775. In the following February, colonel Leslie was sent with a detachment of troops from Boston to take possession of some cannon at Salem. But the people had intelligence of the design, took up the draw-bridge in that town, and prevented the troops from passing, until the cannon were secured. In April, colonel Smith and major Pitcairn were sent with a body of about nine hundred troops, to destroy the military stores which had been collected at Concord. It is generally believed that another, and perhaps the principal object of the expedition, was to seize on the persons of Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to general Gage. At Lexington the militia were collected on a green, to oppose the incursion of the British forces. These were fired upon by the British troops, and eight men killed on the spot. The militia were dispersed, and the troops proceeded to Concord, where they destroyed a few stores. But on their return they were incessantly harassed by the Americans, who, inflamed with resentment, fired upon them from houses and fences, and pursued

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them even to Boston. The loss of the British in this expedition, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to two hundred and seventy-three men. Here, then, was spilt the first blood in a war which ultimately severed America from the British empire. Lexington opened the first scene of this great drama, which in its progress exhibited the most illustrious characters and events, and closed with a revolution important to the rights and liberties of mankind.

This battle roused all America. The militia collected from every quarter; and Boston in a few days was besieged by twenty thousand men. A stop was put to all intercourse between the town and country, and the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions. General Gage offered to permit the people to depart, provided they would deliver up their arms. The people complied; but the general refused to stand by his engagement.

In the mean time a small number of men, to the amount of only two hundred and forty, under the command of colonels Allen and Easton, without any public orders, surprised and took the British garrisons at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, without the loss of a man.

A martial spirit now pervaded all ranks of men in the colonies. They believed that their liberties were in danger, and were generally disposed to risk their lives in defence of them. The animated votaries of the equal rights of human nature consoled themselves with the idea, that though their whole sea-coast should be destroyed, they could retire to the western wilderness, and enjoy the luxury of being free; and it was observed in congress by one of the South-Carolina delegates, "Our houses, be-

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ing constructed of brick, stone, and wood, though destroyed may be rebuilt: but liberty once gone is lost for ever."

Resistance being resolved on by the Americans, the pulpit, the press, the bench, and the bar, severally laboured to unite and encourage them. The clergy of New-England were a numerous and respectable body, who had a great ascendency over the minds of their hearers. They connected religion and patriotism, and in their sermons and prayers represented the cause of America as the cause of heaven. Writers and printers followed in the rear of the preachers, and next to them had the greatest share in animating their countrymen. Gentlemen of the bench, in their addresses to the juries, denied the charge of rebellion, and justified the resistance of the colonists.

About the latter end of May, a great part of the reinforcements ordered from Great-Britain arrived at Boston, under the command of generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. General Gage was now prepared for acting with decision: but before he proceeded to extremities he conceived it due to ancient forms to issue a proclamation, in which he offered in the king's name, pardon to all who should forthwith lay down their arms and return to their respective occupations, excepting only from the benefit of that pardon Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment.

In June the Americans attempted to fortify Bunker's Hill, which is only about a mile and a half from Boston. They had during a single night thrown up a small breast work, which sheltered them from the fire of the British cannon. But the next morning the British army was sent to drive

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them from the hill; and landing under cover of their cannon, they set fire to Charlestown, which was consumed, and marched to attack the troops in their intrenchments. In Boston, the heights of every kind were covered with citizens, and such of the king's troops as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country, which afforded a safe and distinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country. Thousands both within and without Boston were anxious spectators of the bloody scene. The honour of British troops beat high in the breasts of many, while others, with a keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of their country. The British moved on slowly; which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. The latter, in general, reserved themselves till their adversaries were within fifty or sixty yards, but then streamed a furious discharge of small arms. The beginning of the American fire was so incessant, and did such great execution, that the king's troops retreated in precipitation. Their officers rallied them and pushed them forward with their swords; but they returned to the attack with reluctance. A second time they were put to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were at last successful. A retreat was ordered: but so zealous were the provincials, that when their ammunition was expended, they made resistance with their discharged muskets, as if they had been clubs, till the king's troops had half filled the redoubt.

In this engagement fifteen hundred Americans were opposed to three thousand British; of whom the former sustained a small loss compared with that of the latter: the whole loss of the Americans

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amounted to four hundred and fifty; of the British to eleven hundred. The circumstance most lamented on this bloody day by the Americans was the loss of Dr. Warren, who was at this time a major-general. He died like a brave man, fighting valiantly at the head of his party. This excellent hero had rendered himself conspicuous by his universal merit, abilities, and eloquence; he had been a delegate to the first general congress, and was at the time of his death president to the provincial congress of Massachusetts.—Quitting the humane and peaceable walk of his profession as a physician, and breaking through the endearing ties of family connexion, he proved himself equally calculated for the field as for public business or private pursuits.

The burning of Charlestown, though a place of great trade, did not discourage the provincials. It excited resentment and execration, but generated no disposition to submit. "Such," says Mr. Ramsey, "was the high toned state of the public mind, and so great the indifference for property, when put in competition with liberty, that military conflagrations, though they distressed and impoverished, had no tendency to subdue the colonists. They might answer in the Old World, but were not calculated for the New, where the war was undertaken, not for a change of masters, but for securing essential rights."

The action at Bunker's Hill produced many and very important consequences. It taught the British so much respect for Americans intrenched behind works, that their subsequent operations were retarded with a caution that wasted away a whole campaign to very little purpose. It added to the confidence which the Americans began to

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have in their own abilities, and inspired some of the leading members of congress with perhaps too high ideas of what could be done by the militia.

On the 10th of May the second general congress had met, notwithstanding the efforts of government to prevent it: it consisted of delegates not only from the twelve colonies that were before represented, but also from that of Georgia. On their meeting, they chose Peyton Randolph for their president, and Charles Thompson for secretary. They proceeded with caution and moderation; and when applied to from Massachusetts respecting "the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government," they showed an evident disposition not to set up any forms independent of Great-Britain, and recommended only such regulations as were immediately necessary, and were as conformable as possible to the spirit and substance of their charter. And these were only to last till a governor of his majesty's appointment would consent to govern the colony according to its charter. On the same principles of necessity another assumption of new powers became unavoidable. The great intercourse that daily took place throughout the colonies, pointed out the propriety of establishing a general post-office. This was accordingly done; and Dr. Franklin, who had by royal authority been dismissed from a similar employment about three years before, was appointed the head of the new department.

While congress was making arrangements for their proposed continental army, it was thought expedient once more to address the inhabitants of Great-Britain, and to publish a declaration setting forth their reasons for taking arms;—to address the assembly of Jamaica; the inhabitants of Ire-

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land; and also to prefer a second humble petition to the king. These were all drawn in appropriate but spirited language. In their declaration they enumerated the injuries that they had received, and then said, "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing unconditional submission to the tyranny of ministers, or resistance by force. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery."

About this time the continental congress unanimously appointed George Washington, esq. a native of Virginia, to the chief command of the American army. He seemed, as we have already hinted, destined by Heaven to be the saviour of his country. He accepted the appointment with diffidence; refused any pay for eight years of laborious and anxious service; and by his matchless skill, fortitude, and perseverance, conducted America through indescribable difficulties to independence and peace *. After the appointment of this great man, congress came to the resolution, "That

* General Washington replied to the president of congress announcing his appointment, in the following words:

"Mr. President,

"Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: however, as the congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and in support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

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they would maintain and assist him, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes, in the cause of American liberty." His instructions were general, entreating him "to make it his special care, in discharge of the great trust reposed in him, that the liberties of America received no detriment." Immediately afterwards generals Ward, Lee, Schuyler, Putnam, and Gates, were appointed in subordination to him, and eight brigadiers, viz. Pomeroy, Montgomery, Wooster, Heath, Spencer, Thomas, Sullivan, and Green. Twelve companies of riflemen were raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; and bills of credit were given for two millions of dollars, for the redemption of which the colonies were pledged.

In his way to the camp at Cambridge, general Washington was received with the greatest honours; and from this time the affairs of the American army began to assume the appearance of a regular and general opposition to the forces of Great-Britain. In the autumn, a body of troops under general Montgomery besieged and took the garrison of St. John's, which commands the entrance into Canada. The prisoners amounted to seven hundred. He pursued his success, and took Montreal, and designed to push his victories to Quebec.

A body of troops commanded by general Arnold was ordered to march to Canada: after suf-

"As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

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fering, in their passage through the wilderness, every hardship, as well as the most distressing hunger, they arrived, and were joined by Montgomery before Quebec. This city, which was commanded by governor Carleton, was besieged: but there being little hope of taking the town by siege, they resolved to storm it. In this attack they proved unsuccessful; and, what was considered as a severe misfortune, general Montgomery was killed. Few men have ever fallen in battle, so generally regretted by both sides as this excellent man. In America he was celebrated as a martyr to the cause of freedom:—in Great-Britain, as a misguided good man, sacrified to what he supposed to be the rights of mankind. His name was mentioned by parliament with singular respect: some of the most powerful speakers in that assembly displayed their eloquence in sounding his praise and lamenting his fate. Even the minister acknowledged his worth, while he reprobated the cause for which he fell.

After this defeat general Arnold, who now commanded the troops, continued some months before Quebec; and although his troops suffered incredibly by cold and sickness, they intercepted the provisions that were intended for the town and garrison. About the same time the large and flourishing town of Norfolk in Virginia was wantonly burnt by order of lord Dunmore, the then royal governor of that province. Falmouth, a considerable town in Massachusetts, shared the fate of Norfolk; being laid in ashes by the British admiral.

The royal government still existed in name and form; but the real power which the people obeyed and firmly supported, was exercised by a pro-

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vincial congress, a council of safety, and subordinate committees. To conciliate the friendship of the Indians, the popular leaders sent a small supply of powder into the country. They who were opposed to congress, embodied, and robbed the waggons which were employed in its transportation. The inhabitants took arms, some to support the government, but others to defend the American measures. The former acted feebly, and were easily overpowered. They were dispirited by the superior numbers that opposed them; they every where gave way, and were obliged to fly, or feign submission. Solicitations had been made about this time for the king's forces to awe the southern provinces, but without effect, till the proper season was over. One scheme for this purpose was frustrated by a singular device. Private intelligence had been received of an express being sent from sir James Wright, governor of Georgia, to general Gage, to urge immediate assistance in the south The express was way-laid, and the letters seized. One to Gage was kept back, and another forwarded in its room. The seal and hand-writing were so exactly imitated, that the deception was not suspected. The forged letter was acted upon. This led to a conclusion that every thing was quiet, and that there was no need of troops to the southward. While these states were left to themselves, they had time to prepare for extremities, and in the meanwhile the friends of the sovereign were severally crushed. A series of disasters followed the royal cause in the year 1775. General Gage's army was cooped up in Boston, and rendered useless. The people of America generally took the side of congress; and so did the great mass of the wealth, learning, and

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influence, in all the southern colonies, and in most of the northern. Some aged persons were exceptions to the contrary. A few who basked in the sun-shine of court favour were restrained by honour, principle, and interest, from forsaking the fountain of their enjoyments. Some feared the power of Britain, others doubted the perseverance of America; but a great majority resolved to hazard every thing in defence of their rights. In the beginning of the year, the colonists were farmers, merchants, and mechanics, but in its close they had assumed the profession of soldiers. So sudden a transformation of so numerous and so dispersed a people is without a parallel.

This year is also remarkable for the termination of the royal government, which was effected without any violence to its executive officers. The new system was introduced through necessity, and the imperceptible agency of a common danger operating uniformly on the mind of the public. The governors, for the most part, voluntarily abdicated their charge, and retired on board ships of war; and their withdrawing from the exercise of their official duties furnished an apology, and induced a necessity for organizing a system of government independent of royal authority.

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CHAP. X.

Proceedings of Parliament. Boston evacuated by the British. American Independence declared. Lord Howe arrives. Americans defeated. Refuse Howe's offers. Washington's Attacks. Trenton. Burgoyne captured. France joins the Americans. Terms offered to America. Rejected. Conduct of the Indians. Distresses of the Americans. Arnold's Treachery. Major André's Death. General Green's conduct. Capture of Lord Cornwallis's Army. Peace. Washington's Resignation and Departure.

THE obstinate resistance which the British unexpectedly met with in America, led the king and parliament to think of more vigorous measures, in hopes thereby of bringing the contest to a speedy issue. For this purpose seventeen thousand Germans were subsidized, in order to be sent to assist in subduing the colonies. An act of parliament was also passed, prohibiting all intercourse with America; and while the Boston port-bill was repealed, all American property taken on the high seas was declared to be forfeited to the captors. These acts induced congress to change the mode of carrying on the war, and measures were taken to annoy the army in Boston, which was then under general Howe, Gage having set out for England the preceding September. Batteries were opened, and a regular siege commenced; which induced general Howe to abandon the town, but not

A. D. 1776.

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without first plundering the inhabitants of every thing that was valuable.

The British, amounting to more than seven thousand men, evacuated Boston, leaving their barracks standing, a number of pieces of cannon spiked, and stores to the value of 30,000l. This was attended with many circumstances of distress and embarrassment. On the departure of the army, a great number of the inhabitants attached to their sovereign, and dreading public resentment, chose to abandon their country; and from the immense multitude about to depart, there were neither purchasers for their effects, nor a sufficient number of vessels for the transportation of them.

When the fleet and army departed from Boston, several ships were left behind for the protection of vessels coming from England: but the American privateers were so alert, that they nevertheless made many prizes. Some of the vessels which they captured were laden with arms and warlike stores. Some transports with troops on board were also taken, having run into the harbour before they knew of its being evacuated. The boats employed in the embarkation of the British troops had scarcely completed their business, when general Washington with his army marched into Boston. He was received with marks of approbation more flattering than the pomp of a triumph. The inhabitants hailed him as their deliverer. Reciprocal congratulations between those who had been confined within the British lines, and those who were excluded from entering them, were exchanged with an ardour that cannot be described. General Washington was honoured by congress with a vote of thanks; they ordered also a medal

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to be struck with suitable devices, to perpetuate the remembrance of this great event.

In Canada the Americans were completely unsuccessful. The possession of this province so eminently favoured the plans of defence adopted by congress, that it was abandoned with great reluctance. The Americans were not only mortified at the disappointment of their favourite scheme, of annexing it as a *fourteenth* link in the chain of their confederacy, but apprehended the most serious consequences from the ascendance of British power in that quarter. Anxious to preserve a footing there, they had persevered for a long time in stemming the tide of unfavourable events.

The victorious general Carleton proved himself worthy of success by his kind and benevolent treatment of the prisoners that fell into his hands. He not only fed and clothed them, but permitted them to return home. This humane line of conduct was more injurious to the views of the leaders in the American councils, than the severity practised by other British commanders.

While the Americans were retreating, they were daily assailed by the remonstrances of the inhabitants of Canada, who had either joined or befriended them. But the only relief they had to offer was an assurance of continued protection, if they retreated with them: this was a hard alternative to men who had families; and they generally concluded that it was the least of two evils to cast themselves on the clemency of that government against which they had offended. The distresses of the retreating army were great. The British were close on their rear, and threatening them with destruction. The state of the colonies

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imposed on them a necessity of preserving their cannon, which they were obliged to drag up the rapids, when they were to the middle in the water. They were also incumbered with great numbers labouring under the small-pox and other diseases. Two regiments, at one time, had not a single man in health; another had only six; and a fourth only forty, and two more were nearly in the same condition. Notwithstanding these difficulties, general Sullivan conducted the retreat with so much judgment and caution, that the baggage and public stores were saved, and the numerous sick brought off. The American army reached Crown-Point on the 1st of July, and at that place they made a stand.

A short time before the Americans abandoned Canada, general Arnold convened the merchants of Montreal, and obliged them to furnish a great quantity of goods, which he pretended were wanted for the army, but which his nephew publicly disposed of at Albany.

In the course of the summer a small squadron of ships, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, and a body of troops, under the generals Clinton and Cornwallis, attempted to take Charleston, the capital of South Carolina. The ships made a violent attack upon the fort on Sullivan's island, but were repulsed with great loss, and the expedition was abandoned.

It being now ascertained that the utmost lenity America had to expect from Britain was pardon, upon unconditional submission; the minds of the generality of people throughout the continent were by this time fully prepared for a formal declaration of independency. North Carolina and Pennsylvania, which had long opposed this mea-

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sure, now signified their concurrence. Maryland alone discovered symptoms of reluctance.

A motion was made in congress, on the 7th of June, for declaring the colonies free and independent. The business was adjourned to a future day; and when the time for taking the subject into consideration arrived, much knowledge, ingenuity, and eloquence, were displayed on both sides of the question. The debates were continued for some time with great animation. At length, after a full discussion, the measure of proclaiming the colonies free and independent was approved by nearly an unanimous vote*. The declaration

* The act of the United Colonies for separating themselves from the government of Great-Britain, and declaring their independence, was expressed in the following words:

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness: that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same ob-

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was solemnly promulgated on the 4th of July, 1776. The anniversary of the day, on which this important event took place, has ever since been

ject, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great-Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

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consecrated by the Americans to religious gratitude and social pleasures: it is justly considered by them as the birth-day of their freedom.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither a swarm of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:—

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the form of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

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From the promulgation of this declaration every thing assumed a new form. The Americans no longer appeared in the character of subjects in arms against their sovereign, but as an

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled to the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislatures to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war; in peace, friends.

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independent people, repelling the attacks of an invading foe. Propositions and supplications for reconciliation were done away. The dispute was brought to a single point, whether the late British colonies should be conquered provinces, or free and independent states.

The declaration was read publicly in all the states, and was welcomed with many demonstrations of joy. The people were encouraged by it to bear up under the calamities of war: the army received it with particular satisfaction, as it secured them from suffering as rebels, and held out to their view an object, the attainment of which would be an adequate recompense for the toils and dangers of the war. The flattering prospects of an extensive commerce, freed from British restrictions, and the honours and emoluments of office in independent states, now began to glitter before the eyes of the colonists, and reconcile them to the difficulties of their situation. That

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great-Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

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separation, which they at first dreaded as an evil, they soon gloried in as a national blessing.

By advice of the new American minister, lord George Germaine, the chief command of the vast naval and military force, now collected for the subjugation of America, was intrusted to the two Howes. Immediately after the declaration of independence, general Howe, with a powerful force, arrived near New-York, and landed the troops upon Staten Island. General Washington was in New-York, with about thirteen thousand men, who were encamped either in the city or the neighbouring fortifications. On the 12th of July lord Howe arrived and joined his brother, and though he was very much concerned to find that the declaration of independence had been promulgated, yet he resolved to make one effort for effecting an accommodation. His powers, however, were much too limited. He was ready to offer pardon to persons who contended that they had been guilty of no fault. Both sides, therefore, prepared seriously for action; and the general, being joined by the far greater part of his expected reinforcements, found himself at the head of thirty thousand veteran troops, supported by a formidable fleet, composing together a force far superior to any that had ever before been seen in the New World employed in the same service.

The operations of the British began by the action on Long-Island, in the month of August. The Americans were defeated, and general Sullivan and lord Stirling, with a large body of men were made prisoners. The night after the engagement, a retreat was ordered and executed with such silence, that the Americans left the island without alarming their enemies and without loss.

Almost immediately after this transaction ge-

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neral Sullivan was sent, upon parole, with a verbal message from lord Howe, requesting an interview. The committee appointed for this purpose, consisting of Dr. Franklin, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, met lord Howe upon Staten Island, by whom they were treated with great attention; but the conference terminated without effecting any good purpose.

In September the city of New-York was abandoned by the American army and taken by the British: and in November Fort Washington, on York Island, was taken, and more than two thousand men made prisoners. Fort Lee, opposite to Fort Washington, on the Jersey shore, was soon after taken, but the garrison escaped. About the same time, general Clinton was sent with a body of troops to take possession of Rhode Island, and succeeded. In addition to all these losses and defeats, the American army suffered by desertion, and still more by sickness. All that now remained of it, which at the opening of the campaign amounted to at least twenty-five thousand men, did not exceed three thousand. The term of their engagements being expired, they returned in large bodies to their families and friends, and the few who continued with Washington and Lee, were too inconsiderable to appear formidable in the view of a powerful and victorious enemy.

In this alarming situation of affairs general Lee, through imprudence, was captured by a party of the British light-horse; this gave a severe shock to the remaining hopes of the little army, and rendered their situation truly distressing. In the opinion of many the affairs of the Americans were drawing to a crisis. But general Washington, always ready to improve every advantage to raise the drooping spirits of his handful of men,

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had made a stand on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. Here he collected his scattered forces, and very early on the 26th of December, a day purposely selected, on the supposition that the preceding festivity might favour the project of a surprise, he crossed the Delaware, not without extreme difficulty, from the quantity of ice in the river, nine miles above Trenton, and immediately began his march in the midst of a storm of snow and hail at the head of his troops, and reached Trenton by day-break, and so completely surprised the army that upwards of nine hundred Hessians, after a slight resistance, were made prisoners. In the evening general Washington repassed the Delaware, carrying with him his prisoners, their artillery, and colours, and entered the city of Philadelphia in triumph.

The charm was now dissolved, and it being found by experience that the Europeans were not invincible, great numbers of the Americans, who had deserted their colours, again repaired to the standard of their commander, who soon found himself at the head of a considerable army, and ready to act on the offensive. This successful expedition first gave a favourable turn to American affairs, which seemed to brighten through the whole course of the war. Soon after, general Washington attacked the British at Princeton, and obtained a complete victory. The great address in planning and executing these enterprises reflected the highest honour on the commander; and success revived the desponding hopes of America.

A. D. 1777.

This year was distinguished by several memorable events in favour of American liberty. On the opening of the campaign, governor Tryon was sent with a body of troops to destroy the

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stores at Danbury, in Connecticut. The plan was executed; but the British suffered in their retreat, and the Americans on their part lost general Wooster, a brave and experienced officer. General Prescot was taken from his quarters, on Rhode Island, by the address of colonel Barton, and conveyed prisoner to the continent.

General Burgoyne, who commanded the British northern army, took possession of Ticonderoga; pushed his successes, crossed the lake George, and encamped upon the banks of the Hudson, near Saratoga. His progress was, however, checked near Bennington, where the undisciplined militia of Vermont displayed the most exemplary bravery. The militia now assembled from all parts of New England to stop the progress of general Burgoyne. These, with the regular troops, formed a respectable army, commanded by general Gates. After two severe actions, in which generals Lincoln and Arnold behaved with much gallantry; general Burgoyne found himself enclosed, and was obliged to surrender his whole army, amounting to several thousand men. This memorable event happened on the 17th of October, 1777; it diffused an universal joy over America, and laid the foundation for a treaty with France.

But prior to these transactions, the main body of the British forces had landed at the head of Elk river, and began their march to Philadelphia. General Washington had determined to oppose them; and for this purpose first made a stand at Red-Clay creek, and then upon the heights, near Brandy-Wine creek. Here the armies engaged; the Americans were overpowered and suffered great loss. Shortly after they again engaged at German Town, and in the beginning of

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the action, the Americans had the advantage, but the fortune of the day was turned in favour of the British. Both sides suffered considerable losses, and on the side of the Americans was that of general Nash.

In an attack upon the forts at Mud-Island and Red-Bank, the Hessians were unsuccessful, and their commander killed. The British also lost a ship of the line. But the forts were afterwards taken, and the navigation of the Delaware opened. General Washington was reinforced with part of the troops which had composed the northern army, under general Gates, and both armies retired to winter-quarters.

In October, the same month in which general Burgoyne was taken at Saratoga, general Vaughan, with a small fleet, sailed up Hudson's river, and wantonly burnt Kingston, a beautiful Dutch settlement on the west side of the river.

Till the capture of general Burgoyne, the powers of Europe were only spectators of the war between Great-Britain and her late colonies; but soon after that event they were drawn in to be parties.

In every period of the controversy, the claims of the Americans were patronized by many respectable foreigners. The addresses and other public acts of congress were admired by many who had no personal interest in the contest. Liberty is so evidently the undoubted right of mankind, that whenever a people take up arms either to defend or recover it, they are sure of meeting with encouragement, or at least good wishes from the friends of humanity in every part of the world.

From the operation of these principles, the Americans had the esteem and prayers of multitudes in every part of Europe. They were reputed to be ill-used, and determined to resist op-

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pression. Being both pitied and applauded, sympathetic sentiments were excited in their favour. These circumstances would have operated in every case; but in the present the cause of the Americans was patronized from additional motives. An universal jealousy prevailed against Great-Britain. Her navy had long claimed a degree of homage from those of other European nations; and demanded, as a matter of right, that the ships of all other powers should strike their sails to her as mistress of the ocean. From her eagerness to prevent supplies going to the colonists, the vessels of other powers had for some time past been subjected to searches and interruptions, when steering towards America, in a manner that could not be easily borne by independent nations.

Soon after the intelligence of the capture of general Burgoyne's army, the court of France concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with the United States. This was brought about by the interference of doctor Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee. The terms of reciprocity on which France contracted with the United States, were no less recommended by wise policy than dictated by true magnanimity. As there was nothing exclusive in the treaty, an opening was left for Great-Britain to close the war whenever she pleased, with all the advantages of future commerce that France had stipulated for herself. This measure rendered the establishment of American independence the common cause of all the commercial powers of Europe; for the question became, whether the trade of the United States should, by the subversion of their independence, be again monopolized by

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Great-Britain, or by the establishment of it, be laid open on equal terms to all the world?

While the ministers of Great-Britain were pleasing themselves with the flattering idea of a permanent peace in Europe, they were not less surprised than provoked by hearing of the alliance which had taken place between his most Christian Majesty and the United States: this event, though frequently foretold, was disbelieved.

The marquis de la Fayette, who had long been a patron of the American contest, and had fought in her cause, was among the first in the continental army who received the welcome tidings of the treaty. In a transport of joy, mingled with an effusion of tears, he embraced general Washington, exclaiming, "The king, my master, has acknowledged your independence, and made an alliance with you for its establishment." The heartfelt joy, which spread from breast to breast, exceeded description. Solemn thanks were offered up to heaven; a *feu de joie* was fired; and, on a proper signal being given, the air resounded with "Long live the king of France!" which poured forth from the lips of every soldier in the army. The Americans, having alone weathered the storms of war, now fancied the port of peace to be full in view.

As soon as this treaty was known in England, the sovereign and parliament resolved to punish the French nation for treating with their subjects, which they styled "an unprovoked aggression on the honour of the crown, and essential interests of the kingdom." At the same time conciliatory bills were brought into the house and passed; by which governor Johnstone, lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, were appointed to set out for America, and open

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a negociation on the subject*. Congress would not now accept of the proffered terms, nor would they, said Mr. Laurens, in his answer, enter into the consideration of a treaty of peace with the king of Great-Britain, without an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

In our farther account of this war, which was protracted till the spring of 1783, we must necessarily be very brief; taking care, however, that

* The terms which they offered were principally as follows.

To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land.

To restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection, and renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the several parts of this empire.

To extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require.

To agree that no military forces shall be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general congress or particular assemblies.

To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation.

To perpetuate our union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great-Britain; or if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend the several interests of those by whom they are deputed.

In short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war under one common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends.

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no material point is omitted. Early in the
A. D. 1778. spring, count d'Estaing was sent with fifteen sail of the line, by the court of France, to assist America. He arrived at the entrance of the Delaware on the 9th of July. From an apprehension of this kind, or from a prospect of greater security, it was resolved that the British should evacuate Philadelphia, and concentrate their force in the city and harbour of New-York. On their march they were annoyed by the Americans, and at Monmouth a very regular action took place between part of the armies; the British were repulsed with great loss; and had general Lee obeyed his orders, a signal victory would probably have been obtained. For his ill conduct on that day, general Lee was suspended, and never after permitted to join the army. It is generally supposed that he was jealous of Washington's fame, for his courage and fidelity to his country were never called in question.

In August, general Sullivan, with a large body of troops, attempted to take possession of Rhode-Island, but did not succeed. Soon after, the stores and shipping at Bedford, in Massachusetts, were burnt by a party of the British troops. The same year, Savannah, then the capital of Georgia, was taken by the British, under the command of colonel Campbell.

Throughout the year 1779, the British
A. D. 1779. seem to have aimed at little more in the states to the northward of Carolina, than distress and depredation. Having publicly announced their resolution of making "the colonies of as little avail as possible to their new connexions;" on this principle they planned several expeditions. The command of the army had devolv-

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ed on sir Henry Clinton; general Howe having returned to England; and general Lincoln was appointed to the command of the American southern army.

Governor Tryon and sir George Collyer made an incursion into Connecticut, and burnt the towns of Fairfield and Norwalk; from the latter place certificates were transmitted to general Washington, in which persons of veracity bore witness on oath to various acts of brutality, rapine, and cruelty, committed on aged persons, women, and prisoners.

The elder citizens of the United States, who had grown up with habits of attachment to the British nation felt the keenest sensations of regret, when they contrasted the year 1759 with 1779. The former was their glory, when in the days of their youth they were disposed to boast of the honours of their common country, but the latter filled them with distress. The one ennobled the British name with the conquest of Montreal, Quebec, and the whole province of Canada; the other was remarkable only for burning magazines, store-houses, dock-yards, and towns, and for the distress of a defenceless peasantry.

The American arms were crowned with success in an attack upon Stoney-Point, which was surprised and taken by general Wayne, in the night of the 15th of July. Five hundred men were made prisoners, with little loss on either side.—A party of British forces attempted this summer to build a fort on Penobscot river, for the purpose of cutting timber in the neighbouring forests. A plan was laid by Massachusetts to dislodge them, and a considerable fleet collected for the purpose, but it failed of success, and the whole

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marine force fell into the hands of the British, except some vessels which were burnt by the Americans themselves.

In the month of October, general Lincoln and count d'Estaing made an assault upon Savannah; but they were repulsed with considerable loss. In this action, the celebrated Polish count Pulaski, who had acquired the reputation of a brave soldier, was mortally wounded.

Thus ended the campaign of 1779, without any thing decisive on either side. It is remarkable for the feeble exertions of the Americans. Accidental causes, which had previously excited their activity, had in a great measure ceased to have influence.—An enthusiasm for liberty made them comparatively disregard property, and brave all danger, in the first years of the war. Their success in 1777, made them active and vigorous. The flattering prospects inspired by the alliance with France in 1778, banished all fears of the success of the revolution; but the failure of every scheme of co-operation produced a despondency of mind unfavourable to great exertions. Expecting too much from their allies, they were less prepared to prosecute the war from their own resources, than they would have been if d'Estaing had not touched on their coast. Their army was reduced in numbers, and badly clothed. In the first years of the war, the mercantile character was lost in the military spirit of the times; but in the progress of it, the inhabitants, cooling in their enthusiasm, gradually returned to their former habits of lucrative business. This made a distinction between the army and the citizens, which was unfriendly to military exertions. While several events tended to the embarrassment of Great-Britain, and indirectly to the

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establishment of independence, a variety of internal causes relaxed the exertions of the Americans, and, for a time, made it doubtful whether they would ultimately be independent citizens or conquered subjects. Among these, the daily depreciation of their paper money held a distinguished pre-eminence; but on this subject the limits of our volume will not allow us to enlarge.

When the English colonies were planted in North America, the country was inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians, whose numbers had, from a variety of causes, been continually lessening. Of those that remained the Americans were not unmindful: they had appointed commissioners to cultivate their friendship, and to persuade them to take no part in the contest. All the exertions of congress were insufficient for the security of the western frontiers. In almost every period of the war a great majority of the Indians had taken part with Great-Britain against the Americans. The intercourse with these tribes had, for several years prior to the American war, been exclusively committed to John Stuart, an officer of the crown, and devoted to the royal interest. By his means almost incredible devastation was committed at different periods of the contest. A particular detail of the destruction of property, of the distress of great numbers who escaped only by fleeing into the woods, where they subsisted without covering, on the spontaneous productions of the earth, and of the barbarous murders which were committed on persons of all ages, and each sex, would be sufficient to freeze every breast with horror.

In several expeditions which had been carried on against the Indians, ample vengeance had been taken on some of them; but these partial suc-

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ceases produced no lasting benefit. The few who escaped had it in their power to make thousands miserable. For the permanent security of the frontier inhabitants, it was resolved to carry a decisive expedition into the Indian country. A considerable body of continental troops was selected for the purpose, and put under the command of general Sullivan. The Indians who form the confederacy of the six nations called the Mohawks, were the objects of this expedition. They inhabit that immense and fertile tract of country which lies between New-England, the Middle States, and the province of Canada. Sullivan marched into their country, and burnt and destroyed all the provisions and settlements that fell in their way.

A. D. 1780. On the opening of the next campaign, the British troops left Rhode Island. An expedition, under general Clinton and lord Cornwallis, was undertaken against Charleston, in South Carolina, which, after a close siege of six weeks, was surrendered to the British commander; and general Lincoln and the whole garrison were made prisoners. This was the first instance in which the Americans had attempted to defend a town. The unsuccessful event, with its consequences, demonstrated the policy of sacrificing the towns of the union, in preference to endangering the whole, by risking too much for their defence.

General Gates was now appointed to the command of the southern department, and another army collected. In August, Lord Cornwallis attacked the American troops at Camden, in South Carolina, and routed them with considerable loss. He afterwards marched through the southern states, and supposed that he had entirely subdued them.

The same summer the British troops made fre-

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quent incursions from New-York into the Jerseys, ravaging and plundering the country. A large body, commanded by general Kniphausen, landed in June, at Elizabeth Point, and proceeded into the country. These were much harassed in their progress by colonel Dayton and the troops under his command. At Connecticut Farms they burnt a considerable part of the village. In this neighbourhood lived Mr. Caldwell, an eminent presbyterian clergyman, whose exertions in defence of his country had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the British. Mrs. Caldwell, seeing the enemy advancing, retired with her housekeeper, a child of three years old, an infant of eight months, and a little maid, to a room secured on all sides by stone walls, except at a window opposite the enemy. Unsuspicious of danger, while she was sitting on her bed, holding one child by the hand, with the infant at her breast, a British soldier shot her dead, who had evidently come to the unguarded part of the house, with a design to perpetrate the horrid deed. Her husband shortly after shared the same fate.

The campaign of this year passed away in successive disappointments and distresses. The country seemed exhausted, and the continental currency expiring: the army, in want of every article of food and clothing, brooding over its calamities. While these disasters were openly menacing the American cause, treachery was silently undermining it. General Arnold engaged, for a stipulated sum, to betray into the hands of the British an important post. He had been among the first to take arms against Great-Britain, and to widen the breach between the parent state and the colonies. His distinguished talents and exemplary courage had procured him every honour that a grateful

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country could bestow; and he was in the enjoyment of such a share of fame, for the purchase of which the wealth of worlds would have been insufficient. His love of pleasure produced a love of money, and that extinguished all sensibility to the obligations of honour and duty.

The agent employed in this negociation on the part of sir Henry Clinton, was major André, a young officer of great hopes and uncommon merit. His great honour and abhorrence of duplicity, made him inexpert in the practice of those arts of deception which such a business required. He was taken, and the fatal papers found concealed in his boots. André offered his captors a purse of gold and a valuable watch, if they would let him pass; and permanent provision and future promotion, if they would accompany him to New-York. They nobly disdained the proffered bribe, and delivered him over to their colonel. André called himself by the name of Anderson, and under that character obtained leave to send a letter to Arnold, who immediately effected his escape.

General Washington referred the whole case of major André to the examination and decision of a board consisting of fourteen general officers. Their report, founded entirely on his own confession, declared that he ought to be considered as a spy, and that, agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death.

Great interest was made to save his valuable life, which was refused but upon the condition of their giving up Arnold; this could not be acceded to, without offending against every principle of policy. André, though superior to the terrors of death, wished to die like a soldier. The usages of war would not now allow of this request, but his feel-

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ings were saved from the pain of a negative. The guard which attended him in his confinement marched with him to the place of execution. The way over which he passed was crowded with anxious spectators, whose sensibility was strongly impressed by beholding an amiable youth devoted to immediate execution. Major André walked with firmness, composure, and dignity, between the officers of his guard, his arm being locked in theirs. Upon seeing the preparations, he asked with some degree of concern, "Must I die in this manner!" He was told it was unavoidable. He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode: it will however be but a momentary pang." His conduct excited the admiration and melted the hearts of all the spectators. He was asked if he had any thing to say; "Nothing," says he, "but to request that you will witness to the world that I die like a brave man."

This execution was the subject of severe censures; and notwithstanding the usages of war, which were appealed to for the justice of the sentence, it would have been honourable to the congress, and their general in chief, had the life of this excellent young man been spared. While every heart pitied the fate of major André, the conduct of the infamous Arnold was stamped with universal infamy; and, like persons of his description, he lived despised by mankind, and died a few years since* unlamented. General Washington arrived in camp just after Arnold had made his escape, and restored order in the garrison.

After the defeat of general Gates in Carolina, general Greene was appointed to the command of

* See Monthly Magazine, vol. xi. p. 546.

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the southern army. From this period things in that quarter wore a more favourable aspect. Colonel Tarleton, the active commander of the British legion, was defeated by general Moreton, the intrepid commander of the riflemen.

A. D. 1781. After a variety of movements the two armies met at Guildford, in Carolina, where was one of the best-fought actions during the war. General Greene and Lord Cornwallis exerted themselves at the head of their respective armies; and although the Americans were obliged to retire from the field of battle, yet the British army suffered immense loss, and could not pursue the victory. In this action generals O'Hara and Howard, and colonel Tarleton, were wounded; besides these, colonel Stuart and three captains were killed, and colonel Webster died of his wounds.

At this period Arnold, who had been made a brigadier-general in the British service, with a small number of troops sailed for Virginia, and plundered the country.

After the battle of Guildford, general Greene moved towards South Carolina, to drive the British from their posts in that state. Here lord Rawdon obtained an inconsiderable advantage over the Americans near Camden. Greene, with his usual promptitude, instantly took measures to prevent his lordship from improving the success he had obtained. He retreated with such order that most of his wounded, and all his artillery, together with a number of prisoners, were carried off. The British retired to Camden, where it was known that they could not long subsist without fresh provisions, and the American general took proper measures to prevent their getting any.

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General Greene more than recovered the advantage gained over him at Camden, by a brilliant and successful action at the Eutaw Springs. The loss of the British was upwards of eleven hundred men, besides 1000 stand of arms: that of the Americans five hundred, in which number were sixty officers.

Soon after this engagement, the British retired with their whole force to Charleston Neck. The defence of the country was given up; and the conquerors, who had carried their arms to the extremities of the State, seldom aimed at any thing more than to secure themselves in the vicinity of the capital. The crops which had been planted in the spring of the year under British auspices, and with the expectation of affording them supplies, fell into the hands of the Americans, and administered to them a seasonable relief. The battle of Eutaw may be considered as closing the war in South Carolina. At its commencement the British were in force over all the state; at its close they durst not venture 20 miles from Charleston. History affords but few instances of commanders who have achieved so much with equal means as was done by general Greene in the short space of a twelvemonth.

Lord Cornwallis finding general Greene successful in Carolina, marched to Virginia, collected his forces, and fortified himself in Yorktown. In the mean time Arnold made an incursion into Connecticut, burnt a part of New London, took fort Griswold by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. The brave colonel Ledyard, who commanded in the fort, was barbarously slain with his own sword, after he had surrendered.

The marquis de la Fayette had been dispatched with about two thousand light-infantry from the

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main army, to watch the motions of lord Cornwallis in Virginia. About the end of August, count de Grasse arrived with a large fleet in the Chesapeake, and blocked up the troops in York-town, and soon after admiral Greaves, with a British fleet, appeared off the Capes; an action succeeded, but it was not decisive.

General Washington had, previously to this, moved the main body of his army, together with the French troops, to the southward; and as soon as he heard of the arrival of the French fleet in the Chesapeake, he made rapid marches to the head of the Elk, where embarking the troops, he soon arrived at York-town, and a close siege commenced, which was carried on with great vigour.

In a short time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly a hundred pieces of cannon, and the works of the besieged were so damaged that they could scarcely show a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left but from offering terms of capitulation, or attempting an escape. He determined on the latter, but the scheme was frustrated by a sudden and violent storm of wind and rain. With this failure the last hope of the British army expired; longer resistance could answer no good purpose, and must occasion the loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, wrote to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for 24 hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. It is remarkable, that while colonel Laurens, the officer employed by Washington on this occasion, was drawing up these articles, his father was closely confined in the Tower of London, of which lord Cornwallis was governor. By this singular combination of cir-

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cumstances, his lordship became a prisoner to the son of his own prisoner. A capitulation was signed; but the honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to general Lincoln, on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to lord Cornwallis: and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York-town, precisely in the same way as his own had been conducted about eighteen months before.

The regular troops of France and America employed in this siege, consisted of about seven thousand of the former, and of five thousand five hundred of the latter; and these were assisted by four thousand militia. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war exceeded seven thousand men.

Five days after the surrender, a British fleet and army of seven thousand men, destined for the relief of Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake; but on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to New-York. Such was the fate of the general, from whose gallantry and previous successes, the speedy conquest of the southern states had been so confidently expected. No event during the war bid fairer for oversetting the independence of at least a part of the confederacy, than his complete victory at Camden; but by the consequences of that action, his lordship became the occasion of rendering that a revolution, which from his previous success was in danger of terminating as a rebellion. The loss of this army may be considered as deciding the contest in favour of America, and laying the foundation of a general peace.

The reduction of an army that had carried ra-

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vages and destruction wherever they went; that had involved thousands of all ages in distress; occasioned unusual transports of joy in the breasts of the whole body of the people. Throughout the United States, they displayed a social triumph and exultation, which no private prosperity is ever able to inspire. A day of thanksgiving was appointed by congress, who went in procession to church, to offer up their grateful acknowledgments for the signal success of the campaign.

A. D. 1781. This year, 1781, terminated in all parts of the United States in favour of the Americans. It began with weakness in Carolina, mutiny in New-Jersey, and devastation in Virginia; nevertheless in its close, the British were confined to their strong holds in or near New-York, Charleston, and Savannah, and their whole army was captured in Virginia. They, in the course of the year, had acquired much plunder, by which individuals were enriched, but their nation was in no respect benefited.

On the last day of the year, Henry Laurens was released from his long confinement in the Tower of London. To this fact we have hitherto but barely alluded. He was committed a close prisoner on the 6th of October, in the preceding year, on suspicion of high treason. This gentleman had been deputed by congress to solicit a loan for their service in the United Netherlands; and also to negociate a treaty between them and the United States. On his way thither he was taken by the Vestal frigate; and though he threw his papers overboard, yet enough were recovered to ascertain the object of his mission. In the course of his imprisonment, he was offered his liberty, if he would acknowledge his error, which he indignantly refused.

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Afterwards, when his son arrived in France as the special minister of congress, he was requested to beg that he would withdraw himself from that post: to which he replied, "My son is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you demand, it would have no effect. He is a man of honour, he loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure he would not sacrifice his honour to save my life, and I applaud him."

A few months after the surrender of lord Cornwallis, the British evacuated all their posts in South Carolina and Georgia, and retired to the main army in New-York. Early in the ensuing spring, Sir Guy Carlton arrived in New-York, and took command of the British army in America. Immediately on his arrival he acquainted general Washington and congress, that negociation for peace had been commenced at Paris. On the 30th of November, the provisional articles were signed, by which Great-Britain acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of the United States of America, and these articles were ratified by a definitive treaty. Thus ended a long and arduous conflict, which eventually gave to the American states a rank among the nations of the earth. A. D. 1782.

Toward the close of this year, congress issued a proclamation, in which the armies of the United States were applauded and discharged from their duties. On the day preceding their dismission, general Washington issued his farewell orders in the most endearing language. The evacuation of New-York took place in about three weeks after the American army was discharged; and in the evening there A. D. 1782.

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was a display of fire-works, which exceeded every thing of the kind before witnessed in the United States.

The hour now approached when general Washington was to take leave of his officers, who had been endeared to him by a long series of common sufferings and dangers. This was done in a solemn manner: "With a heart full of love and gratitude," said he, "I now take leave of you—I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." The officers came up successively, and he took an affectionate leave of each of them. When this scene was over, the general left the room, and passed through a corps of light-infantry to the place of embarkation. The officers followed in procession. On entering his barge, he turned to the companions of his glory, and by waving his hat bid them a silent adieu. Some of them answered this last signal of respect and affection with tears; and all of them hung upon the barge which conveyed him from their sight, till they could no longer distinguish in it the person of their beloved commander in chief.

He proceeded to Annapolis, then the seat of congress, to resign his commission. On his way thither, he delivered to the comptroller in Philadelphia, an account of the expenditures of all the public money he had ever received. This was in his own hand writing, and every entry was made in a particular manner.

In every town and village through which the general passed, he was met and saluted by public and private demonstrations of joy. His resignation was accepted in a public manner, at which a great number of distinguished persons were pre-

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sent; and never was there witnessed a more interesting scene*. Immediately on his resignation, Mr. Washington hastened to his seat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potowmac, in Virginia,

* At a proper moment, general Washington addressed Thomas Mifflin, the President, in the following words:

"Mr. President,

"The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the Supreme Power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war: it was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate; permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of congress.

I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God,

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where he earnestly hoped to spend the remainder of his days in an honourable retirement,

and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

To this the President returned an appropriate answer,

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CHAP. XI.

Disputes in different States. General Convention. A System of Federal Government recommended. Constitution ratified. Washington appointed President. His character. Re-elected. Insurrection in Pennsylvania. Washington resigns. Adams chosen President. United States arm against France. Washington elected Commander in Chief. Dies. Peace between France and America. Jefferson elected President. States added to the Union. Louisiana ceded. Population. Expenditure. Debt of the United States. Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of the United States.

NO sooner was peace restored by the definitive treaty, and the British troops withdrawn from their country, than the United States began to experience the defects of their general government. Whilst an enemy was in the country, fear, which had first impelled the colonists to associate in mutual defence, continued to operate as a band of political union. It gave to the resolutions and recommendations of congress the force of laws, and generally commanded a ready acquiescence on the part of state legislatures.—But now each state assumed the right of disputing the propriety of the resolutions of congress, and the interest of an individual state was placed in opposition to the common welfare of the union. In addition to this source of division, a jealousy of the powers of congress began to be excited in the minds of the people. And the war had not long

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ceased before insurrection and rebellion reared their head in some of the states. The want of money was generally felt; this, with other calamities in which the country seemed to be involved, led the house of delegates in Virginia to recommend the formation of a system of commercial regulations for the United States. Commissioners from several of the provinces were appointed, who met at Annapolis in the ensuing summer, to consult what measures should be taken to unite the states in some general and efficient commercial system. As however the states were not all represented, and the powers of the commissioners were, in their opinion, too limited to propose a system of regulations adequate to the purpose of government, they agreed to recommend a general convention to be held at Philadelphia the next year. This measure appeared to the commissioners absolutely necessary. The old confederation was essentially defective, and it was destitute of almost every principle necessary to give effect to legislation.

A. D. 1785.

In the month of May delegates from all the states except Rhode-Island assembled at Philadelphia, and chose general Washington for their president. After four months deliberation, in which the clashing interests of the several states appeared in all their force, the convention agreed to recommend the plan of a federal government.

A. D. 1787.

As soon as the federal constitution was submitted to the legislatures of the several states, they proceeded to take measures for collecting the sense of the people upon the propriety of adopting it. It would be a tedious and fruitless task to enter into the debates which the ratifica-

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tion of the new constitution * occasioned in the different states; suffice it to say, that after a full consideration and thorough discussion of its principles, it was ratified by the conventions of eleven of the original thirteen states; and shortly after North-Carolina and Rhode-Island acceded to the union. The ratification of it was celebrated in most of the capitals of the states with elegant processions, which far exceeded any thing of the kind ever before exhibited in America. A. D. 1789.

The new constitution having been ratified by the states and senators, and representatives having been chosen agreeably to the articles of it, they met at New-York, and commenced their proceedings. The old congress and confederation expired, and a new one with more ample powers, and a new constitution, partly national and partly federal, succeeded in their place, to the great joy of all who wished for the happiness of the United States.

Though great diversity of opinions had prevailed about the new constitution, there was but one opinion about the person who should be appointed its supreme executive officer. All of every party turned their eyes on the late commander of their armies, as the most proper person to be their first president. Perhaps there was not a well-informed person in the United States, Mr. Washington himself only excepted, who was not anxious that he should be called to the executive administration of the proposed new plan of government. Unambitious of farther honours, he had retired to his farm in Virginia, and

* A copy of this federal constitution may be seen in Morse's American Geography.

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hoped to be excused from all future public service. That honest zeal for the public good which had uniformly influenced him, got the better of his love of retirement, and induced him to undertake the office.

The intelligence of his election being communicated to him while on his farm, he set out soon after for New-York. On his way thither, the road was crowded with numbers anxious to see the man of the people: and he was every where received with the highest honours that a grateful people could confer. Addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the inhabitants of almost every place of consequence through which he passed; to all of which he returned modest and unassuming answers.

A day was fixed, soon after his arrival, for his taking the oath of office, which was in the following words: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States." This oath was administered by the chancellor of the state of New-York. An awful silence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. It was a minute of the most sublime political joy. The chancellor then proclaimed him president of the United States, which was answered by the discharge of thirteen guns, and by the shouts and acclamations of ten thousand joyful voices. John Adams was at the same time elected vice-president.

There is nothing more striking in the whole character of Gen. Washington, and which distinguished him more from other extraordinary men, than the circumstances which attended his promo-

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tion and retreat from office. He eagerly courted privacy, and only *submitted* to exercise authority as a public duty. The promotions of many men are the triumph of ambition over virtue. The promotions, even of good men, have generally been sought by them from motives which were very much mixed. The promotions of Washington almost alone, seem to have been victories gained by his conscience over his taste. To despise what all other men eagerly pant for, to show himself equal to the highest places without ever seeking any, are the noble peculiarities of the character of this great man.

Events occurred during his chief magistracy which convulsed the whole political world, and which severely tried his moderation and prudence. The French revolution took place. From the beginning of this revolution Washington had no confidence in its beneficial operation. But, as the first magistrate of the American commonwealth, he was bound only to consider the safety of the people over whom he was placed. He saw that it was wise and necessary for America to preserve a good understanding and a beneficial intercourse with France, however she might be governed, so long as she abstained from committing injury against the United States.

During the turbulent period of the French revolution, when the people of all countries were divided into parties, Mr. Washington was a second time chosen president of the United States, but not unanimously, as in the former instance. The disposition which he had shown to take no part in favour of the perpetual changes in France, had created him enemies among those who espoused the cause of the A. D. 1792.

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French, as the cause of mankind at large. He had, however, a decided majority; and Mr. John Adams was again elected vice-president.

Through the whole course of his second presidency, the danger of America was great and imminent, almost beyond example. The spirit of change, indeed, at that period, shook all nations. But in other countries it had to encounter ancient and solidly established power. It had to tear up by the roots long habits of attachment in some nations for their government, of awe in others, of acquiescence and submission in all. But in America the government was new and weak.

It was during this period that the president of the United States had to encounter and suppress an insurrection excited in the western counties of Pennsylvania. His character and office had been reviled; his authority had been insulted; his safety and his life had been threatened. Yet neither resentment, nor fear, nor even policy, could extinguish the humanity that dwelt in the breast of Washington. Never was there a revolt of such magnitude quelled with the loss of so little blood.

A. D. 1796. In the month of October, 1796, Mr. Washington publicly declared his resolution of retiring from public life, and strictly enjoined those who were most sincerely attached to him by ties of friendship, not to nominate him on the ensuing election. The resignation of this great man at this period was deplored by all the moderate party in America, and by the government party in Great-Britain. By the latter he was considered as a steady friend; and was indeed regarded as the leader of what was called the English party in America. Such are the vicissitudes of political connexion. In 1776, he was considered

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in England as a proscribed rebel: in 1796 he was regarded as the best friend that England had in the United States. In 1776 his destruction was thought the only means of preserving America to Great-Britain; in 1796 his authority was esteemed the principal security against her falling under the yoke of France. At the former period he looked to the aid of France as his only hope of guarding the liberties of America against England: at the latter he must have considered the power of Great-Britain as the main barrier of the safety of America against France.

Nothing was more certain than his re-election, if he had deemed it right to offer himself as a candidate. The conduct however which he pursued, was the wisest he could have adopted. All the enemies, and many of the best friends, of the American government believed that it had a severe trial to encounter when the aid of Washington's character should be withdrawn from its executive government. Many seriously apprehended that it had scarce vigour enough to survive the experiment. It was fit, then, that so critical an experiment should be performed under his eye; while his guardian wisdom was at hand to advise and assist in the change.

The election of the first successor to Mr. Washington was the most important event in the history of the infant republic. Nothing could be conducted in a more dignified manner: the choice fell upon John Adams as president, and upon Thomas Jefferson as vice-president. The functions of the new president were not to commence till the 4th of March, previous to which he repaired to the house of representatives to take the necessary oaths. At this

A. D. 1797.

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ceremony were a multitude of spectators of high rank; one of whom, after minutely describing all that passed, adds these words: "Nothing can be more simple than the ceremony of this installation; but this very simplicity has something in it so delightful, so noble, and so nearly resembling the grandeur of antiquity, that it commands our reverence, and seizes upon our worthiest affections. I speak at least of the effect it produced on my feelings. This change of the persons exercising the most awful functions of the state, with so little pomp, but with so great solemnity; and which places a man, who the evening before was among the crowd of simple citizens, at the head of the government; while he who held the first office of the state the preceding evening, is returned again to the class of simple citizens—is full of the qualities that constitute true greatness *."

A. D. 1798. After various and repeated insults from the French government by means of their envoy M. Genet, the United States found it necessary to arm in their own defence. They had for years endured with a patience of which there is scarcely any example in the history of states, all the contumely and wrongs which successive administrations in France had heaped upon them. Their ships were every where captured; their ministers were but prisoners at Paris; while agents, some of whom were indeed clothed in the

* See vol. iv. p. 365, of Travels through the United States of North America, the country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada, in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797, by the duke de la Rochefaucault Liancourt. A work abounding with real information on almost all useful topics, and which cannot be too strongly recommended.

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sacred character of ambassadors, had endeavoured to excite the seeds of civil war. The United States resolved to arm by land and by sea. The command of the army was bestowed on general Washington, which he accepted because he said he was convinced "that every thing they held dear and sacred was threatened; though he had flattered himself that he had quitted for ever the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility in which he had so long acted so conspicuous a part." In this office he continued during the short period of his life which still remained. On the 12th day of December 1799, he was seized with an inflammation in his throat, attended with fever, which notwithstanding the efforts of his physicians, terminated his valuable life in two days, in the 68th year of his age and in the 23d year of American independence; of which he may be regarded as the founder. He died fully impressed with those sentiments of piety which had given vigour and consistency to his virtue, and had adorned every part of his blameless and illustrious life. A. D. 1799.

The precautions which the American States took against the injustice of the French government preserved their independence, without coming to an open rupture, and all differences were at length composed by a treaty of amity and commerce, which was signed at Paris, on the 30th of September, by plenipotentiaries from the two republics. Early in the following year intelligence was received in London that a ratification of the treaty between France and America had taken place. About the same period came on the election for a new president in the United States. Mr. Jefferson, vice- A. D. 1800. A. D. 1801.

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president, and Mr. Burr, were candidates for this important office. The election was carried on with great warmth by both sides. The balloting was renewed thirty-one times during three successive days. The thirty-second time decided the contest in favour of Mr. Jefferson. Since this period the contending parties that, during the former periods of the French revolution, had greatly divided the people in the United States, have considerably subsided, and there is every reason to hope and believe that the peace and prosperity of the United States are fixed on a permanent basis.

At the time of the completion of the new constitution, and the first sitting of the new congress in 1789, the Union consisted of no more than thirteen states; but since that period seven others have been added, in the manner prescribed by the constitution. Kentucky, which was formerly a district dependent on the state of Virginia; and Vermont, which was a part of New-Hampshire, were raised into states in the year 1791: and in 1796 Tennessee, formerly part of North-Carolina, was admitted as an independent state. Since that period the Maine, the territory north-west of Ohio, the Indiana territory, and Mississippi territory, have been recognized as states belonging to the Federal Government: and very lately Louisiana has been ceded by Spain to the United States of America. Louisiana was discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1512; it afterwards came into the possession of the French, who about the middle of last century claimed and possessed, as Louisiana, all that part of the new continent which was bounded on the south by the gulf of Mexico, on the north by Canada, and on the east and west indefinitely, comprehending a greater

A. D. 1803.

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extent than the United States. In 1762 she nearly completed a chain of forts from New-Orleans to Quebec, by which the then English colonies were hemmed in, and would eventually have been confined to the country on this side the Allegany mountains. These gigantic projects were defeated by the energies of Mr. Pitt in the war of 1756. And, by the succeeding treaty of peace in 1763, all the possessions lying east of Missisippi, and including the Floridas, were ceded to Great-Britain: France reserved New-Orleans and the island on which it is built. All that part of the country lying east of the Missisippi was, before the late cession, comprehended as one of the United States, under the name of the Missisippi territory.

According to the return of the whole number of persons within the several districts of the United States in the year 1801, the population amounted to more than five millions and a quarter*, of which nearly nine hundred thousand are slaves, a circumstance which cannot be sufficiently deplored by the friends of real humanity. And no inconsistency can be greater than that the slave trade should be tolerated by people who struggled so many years against oppression and tyranny in defence of their own rights.

The expenditure of the government of the United States for the year 1800 was estimated at fifteen millions of dollars, and the revenue for that year was but ten millions; leaving five millions to be provided for by new taxes. But in this estimate was included a sum of six hundred thousand dollars for building six ships of the line, and the sum appropriated to raising 12 regiments of infantry

* See Table III. at the end of the volume.

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and six troops; these expenses were incurred by the preparations made to resist the aggressions of the French, and cannot be regarded as part of the usual expenditure of the government of the United States; and every mean is taken to reduce the national debt, which on the 1st of January 1792, amounted to about seventeen millions and a half sterling, as will be seen in the fourth table at the end of the volume.

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CHAP. XII.

British Possessions in North America. Canada. Its Legislature. Governor. Revenue. Manners of its Inhabitants. Climate. Produce. New-Brunswick. Nova-Scotia. Cape Breton. Newfoundland. Its Fishery. Hudson's Bay. When discovered. Settled. Its Produce. Its Climate.

IN giving a connected account of the history of the United States, we have been obliged to suspend that part of our plan which relates to the British possessions in North America. These are still extensive, and of considerable importance, though so thinly inhabited, and in such a disadvantageous climate, that they sink into a kind of insignificance when compared with the great and flourishing colonies belonging to Spain, or with the territories of the United States. The inhabitants of the former have been estimated at seven millions, and those of the latter at more than five; while the population of the British possessions does not exceed two hundred thousand souls, of whom the greater part are French, or of French origin.

The chief of these possessions is Canada, now divided into two parts, Upper and Lower Canada, the former being the western division on the north of the great lakes or sea of Canada, while the lower division is on the river St. Lawrence, towards the east, and contains Quebec the capital, and chief city of our remaining settlements. On the east of Cana-

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da, to the south of the river St. Lawrence, is Nova Scotia, which within these last twenty years has been divided into two provinces, that of Nova Scotia in the south, and New-Brunswick in the north.

What is called New-Britain comprehends the most northern parts towards Hudson's Bay, and the coast of Labrador. The large island of Newfoundland, that called Cape Breton, and the neighbouring isle of St. John, complete the chief denominations of British territory.

The original population of Canada consisted of several savage tribes; and the first European settlement was at Quebec in 1608. For a century and a half it belonged to the French, but in 1759 Quebec was conquered by general Wolfe, and at the peace in 1763 Canada was ceded to Great-Britain.

The religion is the Roman Catholic, but the British settlers follow their own modes of worship. A legislative council and an assembly are appointed for each of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, having power to make laws with the consent of the governor: but the king may declare his dissent at any time within two years. The legislative council consists of seven members for Upper Canada, and fifteen for the lower province, summoned by the governor under the king's authority, and nominated during their lives. The house of assembly is to consist of fifty members from Lower Canada, and sixteen from Upper Canada, chosen by the freeholders. The councils are to assemble at least once a year; and the house of assembly continues four years, except in case of prior dissolution.

British America is superintended by an officer styled governor-general of the four British provinces in North America, who is also commander in

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chief of all the British troops in the four provinces, and the governments attached to them, and Newfoundland. Each of the provinces has a lieutenant-governor, who, in absence of the governor-general, has all the powers requisite to a chief magistrate.

The only revenue arising to Great-Britain from this colony proceeds from an advantageous commerce, which employs several thousand tons of shipping. The expenses of the civil list are supposed to be 25,000*l.* of which half is paid by Great-Britain, and the other is raised by the provinces, from duties on the importation of spirits, wine, and a few other articles. The military establishment, with repairs of forts, &c. is stated at 100,000*l.*; and the like sum is expended in presents to the savages, and salaries to officers employed among them for trade in Upper Canada. But the advantages of the commerce are thought to counterbalance these charges.

The manners and customs of the settlers in Canada are considerably tinctured with French gaiety and urbanity. The women can generally read and write, and are thus superior to the men; but both are sunk in ignorance and superstition, and blindly devoted to their priests. They universally use the French language, English being restricted to the few British settlers. Through the whole of Canada there is no public library except in the capital, and this is small, and consists mostly of French books. And excepting the Quebec almanac, not a single book is printed in Canada.

The chief town is Quebec, built on a lofty point of land on the north-west side of the river St. Lawrence; which in this neighbourhood is sufficiently deep and spacious to float more than a hundred sail of the line. The upper town is of considerable

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natural strength, and well fortified; but the lower town towards the river is open to every attack. A large garrison is maintained, but to man the works five thousand soldiers would be necessary. The houses are commonly built of stone; but they are small and inconvenient. There are three nunneries. The markets are well supplied, and provisions remarkably cheap. The vicinity of Quebec presents a most sublime and beautiful scenery; and the falls of the River Montmorenci are particularly celebrated. To the honour of Canada, a solemn act of the assembly declares all negroes to be free as soon as they arrive in that province.

The climate of this part of America is very severe, but the atmosphere is generally clear. The extremes of heat and cold are astonishing; in July and August the thermometer is often as high as 96 degrees, while the mercury freezes in the depth of winter. The snow begins in November, and in January the frost is so intense, that it is impossible to be long out of doors without risk of serious injury to the extremities. But winter, as at Petersburg, is the season of amusement, and the sledges afford a pleasant and speedy conveyance. In large houses stoves are placed in the hall, whence flues pass to the other apartments; and there are always double doors and windows. On going abroad the whole body is covered with furs except the eyes and nose. In May the thaw generally comes suddenly, the ice on the river bursting with the noise of cannon, and its passage to the sea is terrific, especially when it crashes against a rock. The heat of summer speedily succeeds the frosts, and vegetation is instantaneous. September is the most pleasant month.

The face of the country is mountainous and

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woody; but there are savannas and plains of great beauty, chiefly towards Upper Canada. In the year 1663, an earthquake is said to have overwhelmed a chain of free-stone mountains more than 300 miles long. In the lower province the soil consists of loose blackish earth ten or twelve inches thick, incumbent on a cold clay. This thin mould is however very fertile, and manure was seldom or never used by the French settlers; but since Canada has come into our possession, marle has been used with considerable success; and of this, considerable quantities are found on the shores of the river St. Lawrence.

The produce of Canada is a little tobacco cultivated for private use; vegetables of almost all kinds, and considerable crops of grain; wheat being reckoned among their exports. The sugar-maple tree abounds here, and the sugar is generally used in the country. Both the Canadas are infested with rattle-snakes. Coal abounds in Cape Breton, but has never been discovered in Canada. The chief natural curiosities are the lakes, rivers, and cataracts: among the latter the celebrated falls of Niagara are chiefly on the side of Upper Canada, the river being at that part six hundred yards wide, and the fall one hundred and forty-two feet. A small island lies between the falls: and that on the side of the States is three hundred and fifty yards wide, while the height is one hundred and sixty-three feet: from the great fall a constant cloud ascends, which may be seen at an incredible distance; and the whole scene is truly tremendous.

The ancient province of Nova Scotia was granted by James I. to his secretary sir William Alexander. It was afterwards seized by the French, who

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were probably the first possessors, and by whom it was called Arcadia; but it was surrendered to England by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. In 1784 it was divided into New-Brunswick and Nova Scotia. There are two considerable bays in the former, and a river of some length called St. John's; while that of St. Croix divides New-Brunswick from the province of Maine, belonging to the United States. The river St. John is navigable for vessels of fifty tons, about sixty miles; and for boats more than two hundred: it affords a common and near route to Quebec. The grand lake is thirty miles long, and nine broad. The great chain of Apalachian mountains passes northwest of this province, and probably expires at the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The capital is Fredericktown. The chief products are timber and fish.

Nova Scotia is three hundred miles long, and eighty broad; the capital is Halifax, well situated for the fishery, with communications by land and water with the other parts of the province, and with New-Brunswick. The town is intrenched with forts of timber, and is said to contain fifteen thousand inhabitants. During a great part of the year the air is foggy and unhealthy; and for four or five months intensely cold. Britain sends to these provinces linen and woollen cloths, and other articles to the amount of 30,000*l.* and receives timber and fish to the amount of 50,000*l.* The chief fishery is that of cod on the Cape-Sable coast. About 23 leagues from that cape is the Isle de Sable, or of sand, consisting wholly of that substance, mixed with white transparent stones; the hills being milk-white cones, and some of them a hundred and forty-six feet above the sea. This strange isle has ponds of fresh water; with junipers

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and cranberries, and some grass and vetches, which serve to support a few horses, cows, and hogs.

The island of Cape-Breton is said to have been discovered by the Normans and Bretons, about the year 1500; from the latter it took its name, but they did not take possession of it till 1713. Louisburg was built in 1720; and in 1745 the island was taken by some troops from New-England, and has ever since remained subject to the crown of Great-Britain. The climate is cold and foggy on account of the numerous lakes and forests. The soil is chiefly covered with moss, and is unfit for the purposes of agriculture. The inhabitants do not exceed a thousand. The fur trade is inconsiderable, but the fishery is very important; the value of this trade while in the French possession, was estimated at a million sterling. There is a very extensive bed of coal in the island, not more than six feet below the surface; but it has been chiefly used as ballast. In one of the pits a fire was kindled by accident, and it remains unextinguished.

The island of St. John, at no great distance from Cape-Breton, is attached to the province of Nova Scotia. It surrendered with Cape-Breton, in 1745. A lieutenant resides at Charlotte-town; and the inhabitants of the island are computed at five thousand.

Newfoundland was discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1496. It is about three hundred and twenty miles long, and two hundred broad in the widest part, forming the eastern boundary of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. This island after various disputes was ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht. From the soil we reap no great advantages, for the cold is long continued, and very intense; and the summer heat, though violent does not warm it

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sufficiently to produce any thing valuable. It has many large and safe harbours, and several considerable rivers. The great quantity of timber that grows here, may hereafter afford copious supplies of masts, yards, and all sorts of lumber for the West-India trade.

At present it is chiefly valuable for the fishery of cod that is carried on upon those shoals which are called the Banks of Newfoundland. The great fishery begins the 10th of May, and continues till the end of September. The cod is either dried for the Mediterranean, or barrelled up in a pickle of salt for the English market. These banks and the island are enveloped in a constant fog, or snow, and sleet. The fishery is computed to yield about 300,000*l.* a year from the cod sold in Roman Catholic countries. By the treaty in 1713 the French were allowed to dry their nets on the northern shores; and in 1763 it was stipulated that they might fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and the small isles of St. Pierre, and Miquelon were ceded to them *. By the treaty in 1783, the French were to enjoy their fisheries on the northern and western coasts; the inhabitants of the United States having the same privileges as they enjoyed before their independence. And the peace of 1801, confirms the privileges granted to the French.

The chief towns are St. John's, Placentia, and Bonavista, but not more than a thousand families remain during the winter. In the spring a small squadron is sent to protect the fisheries and settlements, the admiral being also governor of the

* These have been captured during the present war; an account of which arrived while the article was transcribing.

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island, its sole consequence depending on the fishery.

We cannot finish our account of North America without saying a few words concerning Hudson's and Baffin's Bays. The knowledge of these seas was owing to a project for the discovery of a north-west passage to China. So early as 1576 this noble design was conceived; since then it has frequently been revived, but never completed.—The most competent judges do not, however, despair of eventual success.

The inland sea, denominated Hudson's Bay, was explored in three voyages made by Hudson, during the years 1607, 1608, and 1610. This bold navigator penetrated to $80\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, nearly into the heart of the frozen zone. His ardour for discovery not being abated by the difficulties that he struggled with in this world of frost and snow; he remained here until the spring of 1611, and then prepared to pursue his discoveries; but his crew mutinied, seized him and seven of his most faithful companions, and committed them in a boat to the open seas, after which they were no more heard of.

A charter for planting and improving the country, and carrying on trade, was granted to a company in 1670. The Hudson's Bay company has since retained a claim to the most extensive territories, the length of which is thirteen hundred and fifteen miles, and the breadth three hundred and fifty; but it is not understood that the gains of the company are very considerable. The annual exports are about 16,000*l.*; and the returns, which yield a considerable revenue to government, amount, perhaps, to 30,000*l.* The principal trade consists in beaver and other species of furs, and of beaver and deer skins.

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The regions around Hudson's Bay, and Labrador, which are sometimes called New-Britain, abound with animals whose fur is excellent; and it has been thought that the company do not carry the trade to its full extent.

No colony has been attempted at Hudson's Bay. The country is every where barren; to the north of the bay, even the hardy pine tree is seen no longer. Winter reigns, with an inconceivable rigour, for nine months of the year; the other three are violently hot. In summer a variety of colours deck the several animals; but when that is over, they all assume the livery of winter, and every thing animate and inanimate is white as snow. And what is still more remarkable, dogs and cats that have been carried from England to Hudson's Bay, have on the approach of winter, entirely changed their appearance, and acquired a much longer, softer, and thicker coat of hair than they had originally.

Even in latitude 57° the winter is very severe; the ice on the rivers is eight feet thick. The rocks burst with a horrible noise, and the splinters are thrown to an amazing distance. Mock-suns and haloes are not unfrequent; and the sun rises and sets with a large cone of yellowish light. The aurora borealis diffuses a variegated splendour which surpasses that of the full moon; the stars sparkle with peculiar brilliancy, and Venus appears as a lesser moon. The fish in the Hudson sea are far from numerous; and the whale fishery has been attempted without success. There are few shell-fish; and the quadrupeds and birds correspond with those of Labrador and Canada. The northern indigenes are Esquimaux, but there are other tribes in the south, by all of whom the factories are visited. For these there seems no

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provision but what their own art and ingenuity can furnish; and they exhibit a great deal of these in their manner of kindling a fire, dressing their food, clothing themselves, and in preserving their eyes from the ill effects of that glaring white which every where surrounds them the greatest part of the year; in other respects they are perfectly savage.

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CHAP. XIII.

West-India Islands, how divided. Climate. Seasons. Caribbees. Their character. Manners. Treatment of their Children. Of their Wives. Religion. Dancing. Jamaica. When discovered. Taken by the English. Treatment of the Natives. Mode of peopling Jamaica. Attacked by the Spaniards. Buccaneers, account of. Constitution given to Jamaica. Attempts made to tax the Inhabitants. The Island described. Proportion of Slaves to free People. Exports. Earthquake at Port-Royal.

THE continent of America is, as we have already seen, divided by Geogrophers into two great parts, north and south: the narrow isthmus of Darien serving as a link to connect them, and forming a rampart against the encroachments of the Atlantic on one side, and of the Pacific Ocean on the other. But to that prodigious chain of islands which extend in a curve from the Florida shore on the northern peninsula, to the Gulf of Venezula in the southern, is given the name of the West-Indies; from the name of India, originally assigned to them by Columbus*. Thus the whole of the new hemisphere is generally comprised under three great divisions; North America, South America, and the West-Indies.

That portion of the Atlantic which is separated from the main ocean, to the north and east by the

* See p. 23 of this volume.

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islands, is generally called the Mexican Gulf; but it is divided into three distinct basins,—the Gulf of Mexico properly so called, the Bay of Honduras, and the Caribbean sea. The latter takes its name from that class of islands that bounds this part of the ocean to the east; of which the greater part were formerly possessed by Indians, that were the scourge of the inoffensive natives of Hispaniola, who frequently expressed to Columbus their dread of those fierce and warlike invaders, styling them Caribbees. Of this class, a group nearly adjoining to the eastern side of St. John de Porto Rico, is called the Virgin Isles. The cluster of small islands, which stretch in a north-westerly direction, from the northern coast of Hispaniola to the strait opposite the Florida shore, go by the name of the Bahamas. On one of these, called by the Indians Guanahani; by the Spaniards, St. Salvador; and by our own seamen, the Cat-Island; Columbus landed after his first magnificent but perilous voyage. The whole group is called by the Spaniards the Lucayos.

Most of the West-India islands being situated under the tropic of cancer, the climate is nearly the same with respect to the whole. Their year comprehends two distinct seasons, the wet and the dry; but as the rains form two great periods, the year may be considered under four divisions. The spring commences with May, when the trees become more vivid, and the burnt savannas begin to change their hue, even before the rains, which generally set in about the middle of the month. These come from the south, and are much less violent than those which pour down in the autumn. They commonly fall about noon, and break up with a thunder storm, exhibiting a beautiful verdure, and a

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luxuriant vegetation. The average height of the thermometer, which varies considerably at this season, is 75°.

When these rains, which continue a fortnight, have subsided, the summer reigns in full splendour. Not a cloud is to be seen; and generally between the hours of seven and ten in the morning, before the setting in of the trade wind, the heat is scarcely supportable; but as soon as the influence of this refreshing wind is felt, nature seems to revive, and the climate becomes exceedingly pleasant; the medium height of the thermometer is now 80°. The nights are transcendently beautiful; the moon displays a magnificence in her radiance, unknown to Europeans; the smallest print is legible by her light, and during her absence, the brilliancy of the milky way supplies to the traveller the necessary light, and makes ample amends for the shortness of twilight.

This state lasts till the middle of August, when the atmosphere again becomes suffocating, which is the prelude to the autumnal rains. Large fleecy clouds are now seen in the morning, and when these vast accumulations of vapour have risen to a considerable height in the atmosphere, they move in a horizontal direction towards the mountains, proclaiming their progress by dreadful thunder, which reverberated from peak to peak, and answered by the distant roaring of the sea, heightens the majesty of the scene, and irresistibly lifts up the mind of the spectator to the great Author of the universe.

The rains seldom fall with general force till the beginning of October: then the clouds pour down cataracts of which no one can form a just idea who has not witnessed them. In the interval between the beginning of August and the end of Oc-

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tober, the hurricanes, so terrible in their devastations, are apprehended.

About the end of November or the beginning of December, the temperature again changes, the wind varies from the east towards the north, driving before it heavy storms of rain and hail, till the atmosphere is cleared, when a second succession of serene and pleasant weather sets in, and the winter, if it can be called such, between December and April, is the finest on the globe.

Besides the trade-wind which blows from the east nine months in the year, there is a land-wind at night which is peculiarly refreshing. This advantage the larger islands derive from the inequality of their surface, for as soon as the sea-breeze dies away, the hot air of the plain ascends to the tops of the mountains, and is there condensed, which rendering it specifically heavier than it was before, it descends back to the plains on both sides of the ridge. Hence a night wind is felt in mountainous countries under the torrid zone, blowing on all sides from the land to the shore.

To the discoverers the prospect of these islands must have been inconceivably interesting*. They are even now beheld, when the mind is prepared for the scene, with wonder and astonishment by every voyager who sees them for the first time. The beauty of the smaller islands, and the sublime grandeur of the larger, whose mountains form a stupendous and awful picture, are subjects for exquisite contemplation. Columbus in many respects found himself in a new creation, for which his own mind, big with hope, must have been wholly unprepared. The variation of the compass,

* See p. 15, of this volume.

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the regularity of the winds, the direful water-spout, could not fail of exciting astonishment and almost terror in every breast.

It has been observed that the infinite wise and benevolent Creator of the universe, to compel the exertions of those faculties which he has given us, has ordained that by human cultivation alone the earth becomes the proper habitation of man. But as the West-India islands in their ancient state were not without culture, so neither were they generally noxious to the human constitution. The plains or savannas were regularly sown twice a year with Turkey wheat: the hills and vallies were cleared of underwood, and the trees afforded a cool and shady retreat. Of these the papaw, the palmetto, and others, are the most graceful of all the vegetable creation. Some continue to bud, to blossom, and bear fruit throughout the year. By the foliage of the greater part of the trees springing only from the summit of the trunk, and thence expanding into wide spreading branches closely arranged, every grove is an assemblage of majestic columns supporting a verdent canopy, and excluding the sun without impeding the circulation of the air. Thus the shade affords not only a refuge for occasional use, but a wholesome habitation.

Such, says Mr. Edwards*, were these orchards of the sun and woods of perennial verdure, of a growth unknown to the frigid clime and less vigorous soil of Europe: for what is the oak compared to the cedar or mahogany, of each of which the trunk frequently measures eighty or ninety feet from the base to the limbs? What European forest has

* See History Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West-Indies. By Bryan Edwards, esq.

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ever given birth to a stem equal to that of the ceiba or wild cotton tree, which alone, when rendered concave, has been known to produce a boat capable of containing a hundred persons! or the still greater fig, the sovereign of the vegetable creation—itself a forest *.

Having given a short account of the climate and seasons of these islands, it will be right to inquire into some particulars relating to the inhabitants of them. We have already taken notice of those belonging to the larger islands, and which were first discovered by Columbus. From the natives of Hispaniola, Columbus received information of a barbarous and warlike people who resided in the other islands, who made war upon them, and devoured the prisoners which they carried away. They were called Caribbees, and were said to come from the east. These customs, so abhorrent from human nature, are established upon authentic evidence. Among themselves, however, they were ever represented as peaceable, friendly, and affectionate. They considered all strangers as enemies, and of the people of Europe, says Mr. Edwards, "they formed a right estimation." The Caribbees are jealous of their own independence, and impatient under the least infringement of it; and when they find resistance or escape hopeless, they will seek refuge from the calamity in death.

To a principle of conscious equality, may be imputed the contempt which they manifest to the

* In the East-Indies this is called the banyan tree. Mr. Marsden, in his interesting history of Sumatra, gives the dimensions of one situated twenty miles west of Patna: diameter 363 to 375 feet; circumference of the shadow 1116 feet; circumference of the several stems (in number between fifty and sixty), 921 feet.

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inventions and improvements of civilized life. Of our fire-arms they soon learned by fatal experience the superiority to their own weapons, and those they valued; but our arts and manufactures they regarded as we esteem the amusements and baubles of children: hence the propensity to theft, so common among other savage nations, was altogether unknown to the Caribbees.

The ardour shown by them for military enterprise, had a powerful influence on their whole conduct. Engaged in continual warfare abroad, they seldom appeared cheerful at home. They witnessed great insensibility towards their women, which is remarkable, considering the warmth of the climate. Though not so tall as Europeans, their frame was robust and muscular; their limbs flexible and active, and there was a penetrating quickness in their eyes, like an emanation from a fierce and martial spirit. But not satisfied with the workmanship of nature, they called in the assistance of art to make themselves more formidable. Besides great quantities of red paint which they used, they disfigured their cheeks with deep incisions and hideous scars; these they stained with black, and then painted black and white circles round their eyes. Some of them perforated the cartilage of the nostrils, and inserted the bone of a fish, a parrot's feather, or a fragment of tortoise-shell; a custom that is also practised by the natives of New Holland: and they strung together the teeth of such of their enemies as they had slain in battle, and wore them on their legs and arms as trophies of successful cruelty.

The Caribbees inured their children to swim with agility, and to use the bow with dexterity. They inspired them with fortitude and patience,

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with courage in war, and a contempt of suffering and death; and, above all things, they instilled into their minds an hereditary hatred, and implacable thirst of revenge towards the Arrowauks *.

The condition of the women was truly wretched: though frequently bestowed as a prize of successful courage, the wife thus honourably obtained, was soon considered of as little value as the captive. They sustained every species of drudgery: they ground the maize, prepared the cassavi, gathered in the cotton, and wove the hammock; nor were they allowed the privilege of eating in the presence of their husbands †.

The arts and manufactures of these people, though few, displayed a degree of ingenuity which could scarcely have been expected in a race so little removed from a state of mere animal nature, as to reject all dress as superfluous. Columbus observed an abundance of substantial cotton cloth in all the islands which he visited, and the natives possessed the art of staining it with various colours, though the Caribbees delighted in red. Of this

* The Arrowauks, a name given to the ancient inhabitants of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, as well as Trinadad, who were a mild and comparatively cultivated people, and who seem to have had one common origin, as they spoke the same language, possessed the same institutions, and practised similar superstitions.

† Brutality towards wives was not peculiar to the Caribbees: it prevailed in all ages and countries among the uncivilized part of mankind; and the first visible proof that a people is emerging from savage manners, is a display of tenderness towards the female sex. A full display of the manners of all nations the youthful reader will find in GOLDSMITH'S GEOGRAPHY, a work which abounds with information, and at the same time is free from every indelicacy.

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cloth they made hammocks, such as are used at sea by Europeans, who not only copied the pattern, but preserved also the original name. They possessed likewise the art of making vessels of clay for domestic uses; baskets composed of the fibres of the palmetto leaves; bows and arrows, such as the most skilful European artist would have found it difficult to have excelled.

With regard to their religion little can be said: they certainly did not believe that death was the final extinction of being, but pleased themselves with the idea that their departed relations were the secret spectators of their actions; that they still participated in their sufferings, and were anxious for their welfare: and considering the departed soul as susceptible of the same impressions and obnoxious to the same passions, as when allied to the body; it was thought a religious duty to sacrifice, at the funerals of their deceased heroes, some captives which had been taken in battle. It has been said by some writers, that these people entertained also an awful sense of one great universal cause, invisible, but possessing an irresistible power; and that subordinate to him were a multitude of inferior divinities. Others, however, have denied this, and maintain that they had not even a name for the deity. It is certain that in every cottage a rustic altar was raised, composed of banana leaves and rushes, on which they occasionally placed the earliest of their fruits and the choicest of their viands, as humble peace offerings, through the mediation of their inferior deities to incensed omnipotence: for here, as in other parts of America, their devotions consisted less in gratitude, than in deprecations of wrath. "We can all forget benefits, though we implore mercy."

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A darker superstition likewise prevailed among all the unenlightened inhabitants of these climates; for they not only believed in the existence of dæmons and evil spirits, but offered them worship by the hands of pretended magicians. A minute detail of these rites and ceremonies is not necessary, nor would the picture be pleasing if we could find room to fill it up.

The inhabitants of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, are evidently of one common origin; they speak the same language and possess the same institutions. They are a mild, and, compared with the Caribbees, a cultivated people. When they were first discovered, both men and women wore nothing more than a slight covering of cotton cloth round the waist; in the females it extended to the knees. In stature they are taller than the Caribbees; in colour of a deeper brown: their hair was uniformly black; their countenance was open and honest. With this happy people, love was not only a transient and youthful passion; it was the source of all their pleasures, and the chief business of life. Their limbs were pliant and active, and in their motions they displayed both gracefulness and ease. Their agility was eminently conspicuous in their dances, in which they delighted and excelled, devoting the cool hours of night to this employment. It was their custom, when these islands were first discovered, to dance from evening till the dawn; and though fifty thousand men and women have been known to assemble on these occasions, they seemed to be actuated by one common impulse, keeping time by the responsive motions of their hands, feet, and bodies, with a surprising exactness. These public dances were appropriated to particular solemni-

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ties, and being accompanied with historical songs, were called *arietos*. Besides the amusement of dancing they made use of athletic exercises, with considerable force and dexterity.

The submissive and respectful deportment of these placid people towards their superiors, and those they considered as such, was probably derived from the nature of their government, which was monarchical and absolute. The sympathy which they manifested towards the distress of others, shows that they were not wretched themselves; for in a state of absolute slavery and misery, men are commonly devoid both of virtue and pity. The power of their caziques was hereditary, to whom were subordinate a great number of inferior chieftains and nobles, whose situation and importance seemed to resemble the ancient barons of Europe.

The whole island of Hispaniola was divided into five great kingdoms. Cuba and Jamaica were likewise divided into separate principalities; but the whole extent of Porto Rico was subject to a single cazique. The principal cazique was always distinguished by regal ornaments and numerous attendants. In travelling, he was borne on the shoulders of his subjects. He was regarded with awful reverence, and his commands were instantly obeyed without murmur or reluctance.

Nor did their veneration terminate with the life of the prince; it was extended to his memory after death, a proof that his authority had been seldom or never abused. If a cazique were slain in battle, and the body could not be recovered, they composed songs in his praise, which they taught to their children as incitements to honourable actions. These heroic effusions constituted a branch

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of the solemnities called arietos, consisting of hymns and public dances, accompanied with loud sounding music, that might be heard at a vast distance.

Like other unenlightened nations, these Indians were the slaves of superstition. Their notions of future happiness were narrow and sensual. They supposed that the spirits of good men were conveyed to a pleasant valley, a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with every thing that they esteemed delicious; and where the greatest enjoyment would arise from the company of their departed virtuous ancestors. They believed in a Supreme Being, to whom they assigned parents, distinguished by proper names, and whose residence they supposed was in the sun or moon. Their system of idol-worship was truly deplorable; they paid honours to stocks and stones converted into rude images, which they called *Zemi*. These were universally hideous and frightful in appearance, objects of terror, not of admiration and love. Priests also were appointed to conduct their devotions, who claimed also the privilege of educating the children of the people of the first rank. Hence the power of the priesthood was very great; religion was made in several instances, the instrument of civil despotism, and the will of the cazique, if confirmed by the priest, was impiously pronounced the decree of heaven.

Having described those things which are common to most of the West-India islands, it is time that we come to particulars relating to such of the principal ones as we shall have an opportunity of considering.

Although the islands under the English government are not the largest, yet they merit our chief

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attention. Of these, Jamaica claims the first notice. It lies between the 75th and 79th deg. of west longitude, and is between 17 and 19 degrees from the equator. Its length from east to west is about one hundred and forty miles; in breadth it is about sixty miles, and it is of an oval form. This country is intersected by a ridge of mountains called the Blue Mountains: on each side of which are chains of smaller ones. In the plains the soil is prodigiously fertile. None of our islands excepting St. Christopher's, produce so fine sugars. The pastures after rains are of a most beautiful verdure. They are called savannas, in which are found several salt fountains; and not far from Spanish-town is a hot bath of extraordinary medicinal virtues.

Jamaica was discovered by Columbus; and by the early Spanish historians it was called Xaymaca, which signified in the language of the natives, a country abounding with springs. After the death of this great man, the transactions of the Spaniards during a century and a half, in the settlement of Jamaica, have scarcely obtained the notice of history. It came into our possession during the usurpation of Cromwell, and by means of an armament which was intended for the reduction of Hispaniola. The fleet destined for this purpose was ill equipped; the men were badly chosen, and worse armed; under such circumstances it was no wonder that the scheme should fail. The commanders, who had ever been at variance, fearing to return to England without effecting their purpose, resolved to make an attempt on Jamaica before the inhabitants of that island could receive information of their defeat in Hispaniola. The island surrendered, but not till the people had secreted their most valuable effects.

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The whole number of white people in Jamaica, did not exceed fifteen hundred; and although the Spaniards had possessed the island so many years, not one hundredth part of the land fit for plantation was cultivated when the English made themselves masters of it. The number of negroes in the island at the time of its capture nearly equalled the white people. The sloth and penury of the Spanish planters, when the English landed, were extreme. Of the many valuable commodities which Jamaica has since produced, in so great abundance, some were altogether unknown, and of the rest the inhabitants cultivated no more than were sufficient for their own expenditure. They possessed nothing of the elegancies of life, nor were they acquainted even with many of those gratifications, which, by civilized states, are considered as necessary to the comfort and conveniency of it. They were neither polished by social intercourse, nor improved by education. But whatever was their character, the terms imposed by the English commanders cannot be justified, in requiring the poor settlers in Jamaica to deliver up their slaves and effects, and quit the country altogether. They pleaded that they were born in the island, and had neither relations, friends, nor country, elsewhere; and they resolved to perish in the woods, rather than beg their bread in a foreign soil. The resistance that they afterwards made against the efforts of our troops to expel them from the island, may furnish this important lesson to conquerors; "That even victory has its limits; and injustice frequently defeats its own purposes."

After the capture of the island, till the restoration of Charles the Second, the English in Jamaica remained under military jurisdiction. Nevertheless it was the intention of the Protector to have

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established a civil government on very liberal principles. An instrument was framed for the purpose, but the situation of the troops required martial array and strict discipline: for the dispossessed Spaniards and fugitive negroes continued to harass the soldiers with perpetual alarms. Men were daily killed by enemies in ambush. The Spanish blacks had separated themselves from their late masters, and murdered without mercy such of the English as fell into their hands. They even attacked the troops in their quarters, and set fire to some of the houses in the town of St. Jago de la Vega, the capital.

Cromwell was however bent, not only on conquering but on peopling the island, and while recruits were raising in England, he directed the governors of Barbadoes and other British colonies to the windward to encourage some of their planters to remove to Jamaica, on the assurance of having lands assigned them there. He also gave instructions to his son Henry Cromwell, who was major-general of the forces in Ireland, to engage two or three thousand persons of both sexes from thence to become settlers in Jamaica, and he advised with lord Broghill, who commanded at Edinburgh, on the best means of inducing as great a number to emigrate for the same purpose from Scotland.

In the mean time, the old soldiers within the island disliking their situation, and conceiving that the Protector had thoughts of confining them to Jamaica for life, became dissatisfied and mutinous. Other causes concurred to awaken in them a spirit of discontent. Having at first found in the country cattle in abundance, they had destroyed them with such improvidence as to occasion a scarcity of fresh provisions, in a place which had been represented

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as abounding in the highest degree. The commanders, apprehending this event, had urged the soldiers to cultivate the soil, and raise by their own industry Indian corn, pulse, and cassavi, sufficient for their maintenance: this however they absolutely refused, and contemptuously rejected every plan which could contribute in the smallest degree to their preservation. Possessed with a passionate desire of returning home, they even rooted up the provisions which had been left planted by the Spaniards. A scarcity approaching to famine was at length the consequence of such misconduct, and it was very speedily accompanied by its usual attendants, disease and contagion.

The Protector, as soon as he received information of the calamitous fate of the country, exerted himself with his usual vigour, to afford it relief. Provisions and necessaries of all kinds were shipped without delay, and Cromwell, distrustful of the governor's attachment, superseded him, by granting the commission of commander in chief of Jamaica to colonel Brayne. This gentleman, though possessed of a considerable portion of sagacity and penetration, wanted firmness and fortitude. The troops still continued unhealthy, and the commandant, alarmed for his own safety, begged for permission to return to England. Before an answer to his petition could arrive, he was taken seriously ill; and, finding himself in imminent danger, he transferred his authority to D'Oyley, the late governor, a few days only before he expired.

D'Oyley happily possessed all those qualifications in which Brayne was deficient, but on account of the treatment that he had formerly experienced, he entered upon his charge with great reluctance. He begged permission to resign; but the Protector began now to know his value, and would

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not accept of his resignation. And to the exertions of this brave officer, seconded and supported by the affection which the soldiers manifested on every occasion, we owe at this day the possession of Jamaica, the re-capture of which by the Spaniards, towards the end of the year 1657, became an object of great national concern.

A. D. 1658. On the eighth of May thirty companies of Spanish infantry landed on the north side of the island, furnished with provisions for eight months, and with every means of military offence and defence. Twelve days had elapsed before D'Oyley knew of their landing, and six weeks more intervened by the time that he was able to approach them by sea. He then attacked them in their intrenchments, and compelled the Spanish commander to get back as he could to Cuba, after the loss of all his stores, ordnance, ammunition, and colours; and one half of the forces which he had brought with him. Few victories have been more decisive; nor does history furnish many instances of greater military skill and intrepidity than those which were displayed by our countrymen on this occasion.

By the wise, steady, and provident administration of D'Oyley, the affairs of the island began at length to wear a more promising appearance. The army was become healthy, and encouragement was given to a spirit of planting, by some successful efforts in raising Indian corn, cassavi, tobacco, &c. But what gave the greatest vigour to this new settlement, and raised it at once to a surprising pitch of opulence, was the resort thither of the Buccaneers*. These men, who fought with the greatest

* The Buccaneers had their rise in the following manner. Many of the old planters were too much in love with

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intrepidity, and spent their plunder with the most profuse extravagance, were very welcome guests in Jamaica. They frequently brought two, three, and four hundred thousand pieces of eight at a time, which were immediately squandered in all the ways of gaming and luxurious living. Vast fortunes were made, and the returns of treasure to England were prodigiously great. The inhabitants of the island had by this means raised such funds, that when the source of their wealth was stopped up by the suppression of the pirates, they were enabled to turn their industry into better channels.

old customs and habits to abandon them entirely; and hence sprung a race of pirates who obtained the name of Buccaneers. These did not consist altogether of the inhabitants of Jamaica; but were adventurers from all nations, and resorted chiefly to Jamaica, on account of its convenient situation for plundering the Spaniards. Barbadoes and other islands furnished their quota for this desperate society; and when they assembled, they bound themselves to certain regulations that would not have disgraced a more virtuous institution. At first they satisfied themselves with taking their ships and destroying their trade; but encouraged by this success they landed upon the continent of New Spain and Terra-Firma, burning and plundering the open country. Confidence increasing with success, they assaulted and captured some of the strongest fortresses and most opulent towns; they even took the city of Panama by storm, and burned it, after defeating an army which came to beat them off. Another party of these pirates passed the straits of Magellan, and entering into the South Sea, turned the whole coast of Peru, Chili, and the east of Mexico, into one scene of desolation; every where attended with success, because they were acting every where with a bravery and conduct, that in any other cause had merited the highest honours.

The pirates whom we call Buccaneers, the French denominated *Flibusteers*, from the Dutch fly-boats in which

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People of all professions, and from all parts of the British dominions, now resorted to Jamaica, and the confusion which overspread England after the death of Cromwell impelled many to seek for safety and repose in the plantations. Some of those who had distinguished themselves by their activity in bringing the unfortunate monarch to the scaffold, considered Jamaica as a sure place of refuge. But although persons of this stamp were silently permitted to fix themselves in the island, yet the general body of the people participated in the joy which was shown on the king's return.

The restored monarch made no inquiries after those who had been active in his father's humiliation and death; he even appointed their favourite ge-

they made their first expeditions. Buccaneers are in fact no more than persons who hunt wild cattle in America for their hides and tallow. Some of these joined the Flibusteers in their first expedition; and from them the whole body was named Buccaneers. To these two sorts of people were soon added some of the French in the Lesser Antilles; who, finding how much might be made by supplying people that expended largely, and that were not very exact in their bargains, and perceiving that no part of America afforded a better soil, passed over to this island, in which they exercised their business of planters and merchants. These three sorts of people, mutually in want of each other, lived in good harmony. When a Spanish war broke out, the Buccaneers were furnished by the English with regular letters of marque and reprisal. After the restoration of Charles II. the king gave orders that they should receive every encouragement and protection; and it is said on pretty good authority, that his majesty did not disdain to become a partner in the buccaneering business. About the year 1680 every measure was taken to suppress these pirates, and in two years after, the most celebrated of the English Buccaneers, sir Henry Morgan, who had been knighted for his eminent services in the business, was seized and sent prisoner to England.

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neral D'Oyley to be chief governor of the island. This memorable appointment, with a council elected by the people, may A. D. 1661. be considered as the first establishment of a regular civil government in Jamaica, after the English had become masters of it. It was also resolved, for the encouragement of those who should be inclined to settle there, "that all the children of the natural born subjects of England, born in Jamaica, shall be free denizens of England; and that all free persons shall have liberty to transport themselves, their families, &c. to the island of Jamaica." The governor was also instructed to call an assembly, to be indifferently chosen by the people at large, that they might pass laws for their own internal regulation and government, with this limitation only, that the laws which they should pass, were not subversive of their dependence on the parent state.

Hitherto the sovereign authority was properly exerted in defence of the just rights of the crown, and in securing to its distant subjects the enjoyment of their possessions; but unhappily Charles II. had neither steadiness nor integrity. A new system of legislation was adopted for this island, by which there was to be a perpetual revenue given to the crown, and in A. D. 1678. future the heads of all bills (money bills excepted) were to be suggested in the first instance by the governor and council, and transmitted to his majesty to be approved and rejected at home: on obtaining the royal confirmation, they were to be returned under the great seal in the shape of laws, and passed by the general assembly; which was to be convened for no other purpose than that, and the business of voting the usual

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supplies, unless in consequence of special orders from England.

What misconduct on the part of the inhabitants, or what secret expectation on the part of the crown, originally gave birth to this project, it is now difficult to determine. The most probable opinion is this.—In the year 1663, the assembly of Barbadoes were prevailed on to grant an internal revenue to the crown, of 4 ½ per cent. on the gross exported produce of that island for ever. It is not unlikely that the steady refusal of the Jamaica planters to burthen themselves and their posterity with a similar imposition, first suggested the idea of depriving them of those constitutional franchises, which alone could give security and value to their possessions. The assembly rejected the new constitution with indignation. No threats could intimidate, no bribes could corrupt, nor arts nor arguments persuade them to consent to laws that would enslave their posterity. Colonel Long, one of the principal opposers of this arbitrary measure, was dismissed from his posts and sent home prisoner to England. He was heard, in his own defence, and in defence of the liberties of the island, before the king and council, and he pointed out, with such force of argument, the evil tendency of the measures which had been pursued, that the ministry reluctantly gave up their project.

It might have been hoped that all possible cause of future contest with the crown, on the question of political rights, was now happily obviated; but the event proved that this expectation was fallacious. Although the assembly had recovered the privilege of framing such laws for their internal government as their exigencies might

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require, yet the royal confirmation of a great part of them had been constantly refused, and still continued to be withheld. In this unsettled state, the affairs of Jamaica were suffered to remain for the space of fifty years.

The true cause of such inflexibility on the part of the crown was the *revenue*. For the purpose, as it was pretended, of answering public contingencies, the ministers of Charles II. had procured, as has been observed, from the assembly of Barbadoes, and indeed from most of the British West-India colonies, the grant of a perpetual revenue. The refusal of Jamaica to concur in a similar establishment; the punishment provided for contumacy; and the means of her deliverance, have been stated; but it was found that the lenity of the crown, in relinquishing the system of compulsion, was expected to produce that effect which oppression had failed to accomplish. The English government claimed a return from the people of Jamaica, for having dropt an oppressive and pernicious project, as if it had actually conferred upon them a positive and permanent benefit.

The assembly, however, remained unconvinced. Among other objections, they pleaded that the money granted by Barbadoes was notoriously appropriated to purposes widely different from those for which it was expressly given; and they demanded some pledge or security against a similar misapplication, in case they should subject their country to a permanent and irrevocable tax. The ministers refused to give satisfaction in this particular, and finding the assembly equally resolute to pass their supply bills only from year to year, advised the sovereign to wave the confirmation of

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laws, and to suffer the administration of justice in the island to remain on the precarious footing that has been described.

A. D. 1728. Such indeed was the actual situation of Jamaica till George II. ascended the throne of these realms, when a compromise was speedily effected. Then the assembly consented to settle on the crown a standing revenue of 8000*l.* per annum on certain conditions, of which the following are the principal: (1) That the quit-rents arising within the island should constitute a part of such revenue. (2) That the body of their laws should receive the royal assent. And (3) That all such laws and statutes of England as had been esteemed laws in the island, should continue the laws of Jamaica for ever.—The revenue act, with this important declaration in it, was accordingly passed, and its confirmation by the king put an end to a contest no less disgraceful to the government at home, than injurious to the people within the island.

Thus have we traced the political constitution of Jamaica from infancy to maturity: its principles are British; its outward form has been modified and regulated by many unforeseen events. In its present appearance and actual exercise, however, it so nearly resembles the system of government in the other West-India islands, that one general description, which shall be given hereafter, will comprehend the whole. A minute detail of local circumstances would be equally uninteresting to the general reader, and incompatible with the limits of our volume.

When Columbus first discovered Jamaica, he approached it on the northern side, and was filled with delight and admiration at the novelty, variety, and beauty of the prospect. The country at a

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small distance from the shore rises into hills, which towards the top are rounded with singular felicity. The most striking circumstances, however, attending these beautiful swells, are the happy disposition of the groves of Pimento or Jamaica pepper, with which most of them are spontaneously clothed, and the consummate verdure of the turf underneath. As this tree, which is no less remarkable for fragrancy than beauty, suffers no rival plant to flourish within its shade; these groves are not only clear of underwood, but even the grass beneath is seldom luxuriant. The soil produces a clean and close turf, as smooth and even as the finest English lawn, and in colour infinitely brighter. Over this beautiful surface the pimento spreads itself in various compartments. To enliven the scene, and add perfection to beauty, the bounty of nature has copiously watered the whole district. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cascade. In a single point of view, where rocks overhang the ocean, no less than eight transparent waterfalls are beheld in the same moment. Those only who have been long at sea, can judge of the emotion which is felt by the thirsty voyager at so enchanting a prospect.

Jamaica is divided into three counties, Cornwall in the west, Middlesex in the centre, and Surry in the east. St. Jago or Spanish-Town is considered as the capital, but Kingston is the principal seaport. The number of negroes is computed at two hundred and fifty thousand, the whites are probably twenty thousand, the free negroes and mulattoes ten thousand. The chief exports are to Great-Britain, Ireland, and North America, in sugar, rum, coffee, indigo, ginger, and pimento; these were valued in 1787 at two millions sterling.

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The imports were computed at a million and a half, of which the slaves from Africa formed a considerable part. There is a poll tax with duties on sugar and rum, yielding considerably more than 100,000*l.* per ann. and the ordinary expenses of government in the year 1788, were computed at 75,000*l.* The legislature consists of the captain-general or the governor, a council of twelve nominated by the crown, and a house of assembly containing forty-three members, elected by the freeholders; the three chief towns, St. Jago, Kingston, and Port-Royal, returning three members each, the other parishes two. The principal towns are within a short distance of each other. Port-Royal was the capital, till an earthquake destroyed it in the year 1692 *. The city was rebuilt, but it was again destroyed by fire. Notwithstanding this, the extraordinary conveniencies of the harbour tempted them to build it once more. But in the year 1722, a hurricane, one of the most terrible on the records of history, reduced it a third time to a heap of rubbish.

Jamaica is by far the most flourishing and impor-

* The following awful but interesting particulars of this earthquake were transmitted by one of the sufferers, and published in the Philosophical Transactions.

"I lost all my people and goods, my wife, and two men, Mrs. B and her daughter. One white maid escaped, who gave me an account, that her mistress was in her closet, two pair of stairs high, and she was sent into the garret, where was Mrs. B. and her daughter, when she felt the earthquake, and bid her take up the child and run down; but turning about met the water at the top of the garret stairs, for the house sunk downright, and is now near thirty feet under water. My son and I went that morning to Liguania: the earthquake took us in the mid-way betwixt that and Port-Royal, where we were near being

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tant of all the islands belonging to Great-Britain, it produces more sugar and rum than are imported from all the rest together. Many great estates have been acquired in Jamaica, and the inhabitants in general vie in luxury and expense with

overwhelmed by a swift rolling sea, six feet above the surface, without any wind. Being forced back to Liguania, we found all the houses even with the ground, not a place to put our heads in but negroes' huts. The earth continues to shake (June 20th) five or six times in twenty-four hours; and often trembling, great part of the mountains fell down, and fall down daily." Another writer, in the same collection, gives a still more lively description of the earthquake: "Between eleven and twelve (says he) we felt the tavern where I then was, shake, and saw the bricks begin to rise in the floor. At the same time we heard a voice in the streets cry, an earthquake! and immediately we ran out of the house, where we saw all people, with lifted-up hands, begging God's assistance. We continued running up the street, while on either side of us we saw the houses, some swallowed up, others thrown on heaps; the sand in the street rising like the waves of the sea, lifting up all persons that stood upon it, and immediately dropping down into pits. At the same time a flood of water broke in, and rolled these poor souls over and over, some catching hold of beams and rafters of houses; others were found in the sand, that appeared when the water was drained away, with their legs and arms out. Sixteen or eighteen of us, who beheld this dismal sight, stood on a small piece of ground, which, thanks be to God, did not sink. As soon as the violent shake was over, every man was desirous to know if any part of his family was left alive. I endeavoured to go towards my house upon the ruins of the houses that were floating upon the water, but could not. At length I got a canoe, and rowed up the great sea-side towards my house, where I saw several men and women floating upon the wreck out at sea; and, as many of them as I could I took into the boat, and still rowed on till I came where I thought my house stood, but could hear of neither my wife nor family. Next morning I went from one ship to another, till at last it pleased God I met with my wife and two of my negroes. She told me, when she felt the house shake she ran out, and called all

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their fellow-subjects of Great-Britain. Of so much importance is this island to the commerce of the mother-country, that a squadron of ships of war is always stationed at Port-Royal for its defence. All the forts are kept in excellent order, a

the house to do the same. She was no sooner out, but the sand lifted up, and her negro woman grasping about her, they both dropt into the earth together, when at the very instant, the water came in, rolled them over and over, till at length they caught hold of a beam, where they hung till a boat came from a Spanish vessel and took them up."

The wharfs of Port-Royal sunk down at once, with many of the most eminent merchants; and water, to the depth of several fathom, filled the space where the street had stood. The earth, in its openings, swallowed up people, and threw them up in other parts of the town; nay, some of them survived this violence. About a thousand acres to the north of the town subsided, mountains were split, and plantations removed half a mile from the places where they formerly stood; and no fewer than two thousand blacks and whites are said to have perished in the town. The ships in the harbour had their share in this disaster. Several of them were overset; the motion of the sea carried the Swan frigate over the tops of houses, by which means she was the instrument of saving many lives. The rest of the island suffered in proportion; and scarce a house in it was left undemolished or undamaged. In short, it entirely changed not only its improved, but natural, appearance; scarce a mountain or piece of ground standing where it formerly did. Upon the whole, this earthquake was a mere wreck of nature, and its horrors were such as cannot be described.

When the first shock was over at Port-Royal, the clergymen assembled the people to implore the divine forgiveness; and some miscreant sailors took that opportunity of robbing the houses of the wretched inhabitants, when a second shock happened, by which many of those villains were swallowed up. The whole system of the air and soil was changed; putrid smells issued from the apertures in the earth, and occasioned pestilental disorders, which are said to have destroyed above three thousand of the white inhabitants.

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regiment of regular troops is kept in actual service, and there is a strong militia of horse and foot arrayed in case of an invasion from abroad, or insurrection of the negro slaves on the island *.

* At this period there are on the Jamaica station six ships of the line, and thirteen frigates and smaller vessels. And on the Leeward Island station there are two ships of the line, two frigates of 44 guns each, and nine smaller ones.

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CHAP. XIV.

BARBADOES. *By whom discovered. To whom granted. Disputes respecting regal Government. Conduct of Charles II. Present Situation of the Island. Its Constitution. Exports.* GRENADA. *By whom discovered. By whom and by what Means settled. Taken by the English. Attempt to levy a Tax. Present Situation of the Island.* ST. VINCENTS. DOMINICA. *Cruel Conduct of the French.* ST. CHRISTOPHERS. *Famous for its Sugar.* NEVIS. ANTIGUA. *Infamous Conduct of Mr. Park.* MONTSERRAT. *The* VIRGIN ISLANDS. *The* BAHAMAS. *The* BERMUDAS.

THE island next in importance to Jamaica, which we possess in the West-Indies, but the oldest in point of settlement, is Barbadoes. It is one among the windward division of the Caribbee islands, and was probably discovered by the Portuguese in their voyages from Brazil, and from them it received the name which it still retains. The Caribbees, for reasons unknown to us, had deserted it, and the Portuguese considering it of little value, left it nearly in the same state as they found it.

When our countrymen first landed here, they found the place as destitute as if it had never been peopled by savages. Some years after this a ship of sir William Courteen's, a merchant of London, was driven by distress of weather to this island, and finding refreshments on it, the master and seamen, on their arrival in England, made so fa-

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vourable a report of the beauty and fertility of the country, that the earl of Marlborough immediately obtained from king James I. a grant of it for himself and heirs in perpetuity.

Courteen, a man of extensive views and magnificent projects, formed ideas of establishing a colony in the distant but promising territory. Having engaged about thirty persons, who undertook to settle in the island, and furnished them with every necessary, he sent them away: they arrived safe, and laid the foundations of a town which, in honour of the sovereign, they denominated James Town. Sometime after, the earl of Carlisle obtained a grant of all the Caribbee islands, including Barbadoes; but when the charter came to be passed with the usual forms, the earl of Marlborough opposed it on the ground of priority of right. The dispute was at length compromised by the earl of Carlisle undertaking to pay his antagonist 300*l.* annually for ever; in consequence of which lord Carlisle became sole proprietor. A. D. 1624.

During this contest about the disposal of countries, most of which were occupied by their proper owners, the Caribbees,—the man who alone had the merit of annexing the plantation of Barbadoes to the crown of England seems to have been forgotten.

The administration of sir W. Tufton, the first governor appointed by the earl of Carlisle, proving disagreeable to his lordship, captain Hawley was sent over to supersede him. Tufton, resenting this measure, procured the signatures of some of the planters to a petition complaining of Hawley's conduct. Hawley construed this petition into an act of mutiny on the part of A. D. 1631.

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Tufton, for which he had him tried, condemned, and executed; a proceeding universally exclaimed against as a most horrid and atrocious murder.—Hawley was recalled on this account, but escaped punishment, and was sent back again as chief governor, in which capacity he remained till
A. D. 1638. he was driven from the country by the united voice of all the inhabitants. He was succeeded by major Hunkes, and afterwards by Mr. Bell, his deputy, who in a few
A. D. 1641. years was made chief governor. But the conduct of Hawley had alienated the minds of the new settlers from power thus delegated and shamefully abused, and the proprietor's authority lost ground every day. In the mean time the civil war in England caused many peaceable and well-disposed people to take refuge in this island. The emigration from the mother country became so great during the commotions in England, that in about twenty-five years from its first esta-
A. D. 1650. blishment, it was computed there were twenty thousand white men in Barbadoes, of whom one half were able to bear arms. And in twenty-six years after, the whites were
A. D. 1676. computed at fifty thousand, and the negro slaves at double that number. They employed four hundred ships, one with another of one hundred and fifty tons burthen, in their trade. Their annual exports amounted to upwards of 350,000*l.* and their circulating cash at home was 200,000*l.* Since that time the island has been much on the decline.

Soon after the establishment of the Commonwealth in England, circumstances arose respecting this colony, which have produced such effects on the general commerce of Great-Britain, as cannot

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be entirely overlooked in an historical account of her West-Indian plantations. The Barbadians were warmly attached to the regal government, and on the death of Charles I. the popular resentment against his persecutors ran so high in the island, that the few planters who were suspected to be in the interest of the parliament thought it necessary to seek protection in England.

To punish these defenders of a ruined cause, parliament resolved to send a powerful armament to reduce the English colonies in the West-Indies, but particularly Barbadoes, at that time the most important and hostile of all. Ayscue, who commanded the parliament's forces employed in this expedition, arrived in October 1651, and succeeded at length in bringing the island to capitulate. He however met with so stout a resistance as determined his employers immediately to enforce a scheme they had projected a long time before, of altering the whole system of Barbadian commerce, by prohibiting all foreign ships from trading with the English plantations, and not permitting any goods to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than English bottoms; or in ships of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth and manufacture. And thus arose the navigation act of this kingdom; for immediately after the restoration, its provisions were adopted by Charles II. with this addition, that the master and three-fourths of the mariners should also be English subjects.

The inhabitants of Barbadoes, justly considering the law as a chastisement inflicted on them by the Commonwealth for their loyalty to Charles II. were filled with indignation on finding its provi-

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sions adopted and confirmed on the restoration of that monarch. By the regulations of this act and the establishment of the internal duty on their produce (to which we have already referred), they thought themselves treated with ingratitude, and they predicted the decline of their population, agriculture, and wealth, from the effects of those measures. How far these predictions have been accomplished, a comparative state of the island at different periods will demonstrate, with which the present account will be concluded.

Barbadoes is situated in 13° north latitude, and in 59° west longitude. It is only about twenty-one miles in length and fourteen in breadth, and contains more than one hundred thousand acres of land, most of which are under cultivation. The soil is naturally fertile, but the inhabitants have decreased with a rapidity seldom known in any other country. It appears too that the annual produce of the island has decreased in a much greater proportion than in any other of the West-Indian colonies.

That the dreadful succession of hurricanes, with which this and the other West-India islands have been visited, has contributed to this great defalcation cannot be doubted. The capital of the island was scarcely risen from the ashes to which it had been reduced by two dreadful fires, when it was torn from its foundations, and the whole country made a scene of desolation by the storm of the 10th of October 1780, in which no less than four thousand three hundred and twenty-six of the inhabitants miserably perished; and the damage done to the country was computed at 1,320,564*l.* 15*s.* sterling. The prospect has, in some respects, seemed to brighten; but although, since the failure

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of their sugar plantations, the inhabitants have found some resource in the cultivation of cotton, it does not seem probable that any encouragement is capable of ever restoring Barbadoes to its ancient splendour and opulence, unless it be relieved from the heavy imposition of 4½ per cent. on their exported pruduce.

Barbadoes is divided into five districts and eleven parishes: it contains four towns, of which Bridge Town is the capital. Before the fires, this town consisted of fifteen hundred houses, which were mostly built of brick, and it is still the seat of government, and may be called the chief residence of the governor, whose country villa is situated within a mile of it: his salary is 2000*l.* per annum. The form of government of this island so very nearly resembles that of Jamaica, that it is unnecessary to enter into detail, except to observe that the council is composed of twelve members, and the assembly of twenty-two. The most important variation respects the court of chancery, which in Barbadoes is constituted of the governor and council, whereas in Jamaica the governor is sole chancellor. On the other hand, in Barbadoes the governor sits in council, even when they are acting in their legislative capacity, which in Jamaica would be considered as unconstitutional. It may be farther observed, that the courts of grand sessions, common pleas, and exchequer, in Barbadoes, are distinct from each other, and not as in Jamaica, united and blended in one supreme court of judicature.

In the year 1792 Barbadoes produced seventeen thousand hogsheads of sugar; one hundred and eighty-eight hogsheads of molasses; five thousand and sixty-four of rum; three thousand and forty-

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six bags of ginger; and nine hundred and seventy-four thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds of cotton. At that time it had sixty-four thousand three hundred and thirty slaves, seven hundred and forty-four of which were imported that year. The amount of taxes was 9,443*l*. 19*s*. 3*d*.

GRENADA.

When the island of Grenada was discovered by Columbus, it was inhabited by a numerous and warlike people, whose manners and habits had never been injured by the invading Spaniards. It was not till the year 1650 that the French governor of Martinique attempted to form an establishment in Grenada. Notwithstanding the French had but newly settled in Martinique, and a great part of that island was still uncultivated, yet Du Parquet, the governor, collected two hundred men, invaded the rights and destroyed the peace of the inhabitants of Grenada. Although the French had no pretence for this attack, yet the commanders administered the sacrament in the most solemn manner to all the soldiers on their embarkation; and when they landed, Du Parquet caused a cross to be erected, compelled the people to kneel before it, and join in devout prayer to Almighty God, for success in their enterprise. Thus has the Christian religion, which breathes nought but peace and good-will among men, been prostituted and made the instrument to sanction every cruelty, by the guilty passions of men.

Under pretence of a fair purchase, the commanders gave the natives a few knives and hatchets, a large quantity of glass beads, besides two bottles of brandy for the chief; and in consideration of

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these, the value of which could not be more than a few shillings, the French claimed the island as their own, and considered the natives as slaves to their will. Du Parquet having completed the conquest, left a man named Le Compte as governor. Under his reign the Caribbees rebelled, which gave a pretence to him and Du Parquet to take every means of extirpating the whole race. The French historian has attempted to soften the shades of guilt attaching to his countrymen, yet he admits, "That forty of the Caribbees were in one instance massacred on the spot: forty others, who with difficulty escaped the sword, ran towards a precipice, from whence they cast themselves into the sea, and miserably perished. A beautiful young girl, only 13 years of age, who was taken alive, became the object of dispute between two of our officers, each of them claiming her as his lawful prize; a third coming up, put an end to the contest by shooting the girl through the head. Our people," adds this *humane* writer, "proceeded in the next place to set fire to the cottages, and root up the provisions of the savages, and, having destroyed or taken away every thing belonging to them, returned, with the loss of a single man, in *high spirits!*" By such series of enormities, the whole race of Caribbees that possessed Grenada in 1650 was speedily exterminated. And under the various revolutions and calamities which attended this plantation, and which it would be fruitless to enumerate, but little attention was paid to cultivation; even in the year 1700 the island contained less than eight hundred people, blacks and whites, who were employed on three plantations of sugar, and fifty-two of indigo. Soon after this France began to turn her attention to-

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wards the West-Indian possessions, and in the course of the next fifty or sixty years the island of Grenada was in a complete state of cultivation; and in 1762, when the fortune of war made the English masters of this and the rest of the French Caribbee Islands, Grenada and its dependencies are said to have yielded annually eleven thousand hogsheads of sugar, and twenty-seven thousand pounds of indigo.

The crown of England supposed itself entitled by the terms of capitulation to the duty of 4½ per cent. upon all produce exported from the newly ceded islands, as paid at Barbadoes; and accordingly in the year 1764, it commanded the duty to be levied. This demand excited much discussion, the crown persisting in its claim, and the people resolutely refusing to pay it. At length the question was referred to a solemn adjudication before the judges of the court of King's Bench in England; and in the year 1774, after the case had been elaborately argued four several times, lord Mansfield pronounced judgment against the claims of the crown. In consequence of this the duty was abolished not only in Grenada, but also in the ceded islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

Soon after this, considerable disputes arose between the catholics and protestants, the latter objecting to the former possessing seats in the legislature. The protestants appealed to the king, who refused to revoke his former instructions; in consequence of which the most zealous of the protestant members of the assembly declined to attend, and it was seldom that a house could be formed. Public affairs soon fell into confusion, and in this state of perplexity the island became a prey to the French, who captured it in 1779. At the general peace of

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1783 Grenada and the Grenadines were restored to Great-Britain, with all the other captured islands in the West-Indies, excepting Tobago. Since that period this valuable colony has been attached to our own country, much, it is believed, to the satisfaction of the inhabitants.

In giving a brief account of the present state of this island, it may be observed that many of those smaller islands which are called the Grenadines, no longer appertain to the government of Grenada. A line of division passes in an east and west direction between Cariacou and Union Island. The former of these and some others south of it are all that are now comprised in the Grenada government; Union Island, with all the little adjacent ones to the north, are annexed to the government of St. Vincent.

Grenada contains eighty thousand acres of land, of which about two-thirds are well cultivated. The soil is very fertile, and adapted to every tropical production. In the year 1776 the exports, exclusive of freight, duties, insurance, &c. were worth 600,000*l*. It is divided into six parishes; and its chief dependency Cariacou forms a seventh. It has two ports of entry with separate establishments, one at St. George the capital, and one at Grenville-Bay, a town and harbour on the east or windward side of the island. The former is a free port.

Since these islands came into the possession of the English, the number of white inhabitants has greatly decreased. In 1771, they were more than sixteen hundred: in 1777, they were only thirteen hundred; and in 1793, they did not exceed one thousand, of which about two-thirds were men able to bear arms, and incorporated into five regi-

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ments of militia, including a company of free blacks, attached to each. There are also in general about five hundred regular troops, which are supported on the British establishment.

The negro slaves have also decreased. By the returns made previously to 1779, they were thirty-five thousand, and in 1785, they amounted to less than twenty-four thousand. African cargoes sold at Grenada are in part exported to the neighbouring French and Spanish colonies. The free people of colour amounted to more than eleven hundred in the year 1787, and though the increase of this mixed race is discouraged as much as possible, yet it cannot be prevented. The evidence of all free coloured people, whether born free or manumitted, is received in the courts of this island, and they are tried on criminal charges, in the same manner as whites; they are also allowed to possess and enjoy lands and tenements to any amount, provided they are native-born subjects.

The governor is vice-admiral, and presides solely at the courts of chancery. His salary is 3,200*l.* per annum, which is raised by a poll tax on all slaves. The council consists of twelve members, and the assembly of twenty-six. The law courts are held twice a year, viz. in March and September.

ST. VINCENT AND DOMINICA.

Attempts were made at an early period to bring these islands with their dependencies under the English dominion, which the French as constantly opposed. The rightful possessors the Caribbees, derived that security from the jealousy of the contending parties, which they might have sought in

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vain from their justice and humanity. By a treaty in 1748, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Tobago, were declared neutral, and the ancient proprietors were left in undisturbed possession. This treaty of neutrality, intended to accommodate both parties, satisfied neither. After the next war they agreed to divide the spoil between them; and in February 1763, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, were assigned to Great-Britain, and St. Lucia to France, in full and perpetual sovereignty; the Caribbees not being once mentioned in the whole transaction, as if no such people existed. Indeed they were reduced to a miserable remnant of the ancient or red Caribbees; not more than a hundred families survived in 1763, who retained only a mountainous district in the island of St. Vincent.

The first measure of the English government in respect to St. Vincent, after the peace of 1763, was to dispose of the lands; twenty-four thousand acres, being one-fourth of the whole, were gratuitously assigned over to individuals, of which Mr. Swinburn had twenty thousand, and general Monckton the other four. The remainder was ordered to be sold; and about twenty thousand acres fetched at public auction more than 160,000*l*. Nearly one half of the country was judged unfit for profitable cultivation, consequently these grants and sales comprehended all the lands of any kind of value from one end of the island to the other.

The sales and allotments excited a war with the Caribbees, in the course of which it became the avowed intention of government to exterminate those miserable people altogether; or, by conveying them to a barren island on the coast of Africa, consign them over to a lingering destruction.

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By repeated protests from the military officers, administration desisted from their purpose, and the Caribbees, after surrendering part of their lands, were permitted to enjoy the remainder, which they possess to the present period.

In 1779, St. Vincent was captured by the French, but was again restored in 1783. It contains about eighty-four thousand acres, which are every where well watered. The country is rugged and mountainous; the intermediate vallies, however, are remarkably fertile, and well adapted for the cultivation of sugar. The extent of country at present possessed by British subjects is about twenty-four thousand acres; and as much is supposed to be held by the Caribbees. The rest is thought to be incapable of cultivation. The British territory is divided into five parishes; the capital is called Kingston: houses are but thinly scattered over the island. In the frame of its government it differs but little from Grenada.

St. Vincent is celebrated for an extensive botanical garden, which abounds with almost every species of the vegetable world that the hand of nature has bestowed on these islands for use or beauty, for food or luxury; and also with many valuable exotics from the East-Indies and South America.

The island of DOMINICA was so named by Christopher Columbus, from the circumstance of its being discovered by him on a Sunday. The civil history of Dominica, like that of St. Vincent, is but a mere blank, till by conquest it fell into the hands of the English in the year 1759. At this period about half the island was sold by auction in lots of fifty to a hundred acres each, yielding the sum of 312,000*l.* and upwards.

The French inhabitants are still more numerous

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than the English, and possess the most valuable coffee plantations in the island. They differ but little in manners, customs, and religion, from the inhabitants of the other French islands in the West-Indies. Before the commencement of the late unnatural American war, Dominica was in a most flourishing state, and was rising fast into importance. But during that unfortunate contest, all the faculties and means of Great-Britain were directed to the subjugation of America, to the utter neglect of the West-India islands. So much was this the case with Dominica, that at the height of the war it was protected only by six officers and ninety-four privates. Neglect in this instance was the more remarkable, as Dominica by its local situation, between Martinique and Guadaloupe, is the best calculated of all the British possessions, for securing to her the dominion of the Caribbee sea.

Dominica surrendered to the French in 1778, and the first measure of the conquerors was to disarm the English. The governor forbade them to assemble together more than two at one time or place, under the penalty of military execution, and he ordered the sentinels to shoot them if they passed in greater numbers. He prohibited all lights in the houses after nine in the evening, and suffered no Englishman to walk the streets without a candle and lantern. Mr. How, an English merchant and owner of a ship then in the bay, attempting to go on board his own vessel after that hour, was shot in the attempt, and the sentinel who killed him was raised in his regiment for having thus *done his duty*. Such are the tender mercies of the French over their vanquished foes!!

The same governor, the marquis Duchilleau,

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employed spies who insinuated themselves into private families, and related all that passed in the privacy of domestic intercourse. He repeatedly threatened to set the town of Roseau on fire; and when an almost universal conflagration, on Easter Sunday 1781, consumed five hundred houses, like another Nero he diverted himself with the scene, forbade his soldiers to assist in extinguishing the flames, and permitted them to pillage the sufferers.

At the general peace Dominica was restored to the government of England. The joy which on this event illumined the countenance of every person, whose sufferings under an arbitrary government, had taught to appreciate the blessings of the British constitution, may be conceived, but cannot be described.

Dominica is about the same size as St. Vincent, and is divided into ten parishes. Roseau is the capital of the island. It contains many high mountains, in some of which are burning volcanoes that frequently discharge vast quantities of sulphur. The vallies are fertile, and the island is well watered, there being more than thirty fine rivers in it. Coffee is the principal produce of the island. The native inhabitants are of a clear copper colour: they have long, sleek, black hair: their persons are short, stout, and well made, but they disfigure their faces by flattening their foreheads in infancy. They live chiefly by fishing in the rivers and the sea, or by fowling in the woods, in both these pursuits they use their bows and arrows with wonderful dexterity. They display also considerable ingenuity in making curious wrought panniers or baskets, of silk-grass, or the leaves and bark of trees.

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ST. CHRISTOPHER'S, NEVIS, ANTIGUA, MONTSERRAT, AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

These several islands since the year 1672 have constituted one distinct government, called the *Leeward Caribbean Government*. The governor visits each occasionally, but his principal residence is in Antigua; in his absence the government of each island is administered by a lieutenant-governor, whose authority is limited to that particular island: and where no lieutenant-governor is appointed, the president of the council takes the command.

The island of St. Christopher was called by its ancient possessors, the Caribbees, the fertile island. It was discovered by Columbus in 1493, who was so pleased with its appearance that he gave it his own Christian name. It was neither planted nor possessed by the Spaniards; but it was the eldest of all the British territories in the West-Indies, and in truth the common mother both of the English and French settlements in the Caribbee Islands. Mr. Warner and fourteen other persons landed at St. Christopher's in January 1623, and by the month of September they had raised a good crop of tobacco, which they proposed to make their staple commodity; but before the end of the year their plantations were demolished by a dreadful hurricane, which put a sudden stop to their progress. Mr. Warner returned to England to implore succour, and obtained the patronage of the earl of Carlisle, who fitted out a ship for him, and thus preserved a settlement which otherwise could not have survived its infancy. Warner himself did not return till the next year, when he was

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accompanied by a large body of recruits. About the same time D'Esnambuc, captain of a French privateer, arrived with thirty veteran troops, who were cordially received by the English. Hitherto Warner's first colony had lived on friendly terms with the native Caribbees; but under pretence of a supposed plot, the French and English attacked the poor Indians by night, and according to a contemporary historian*, murdered one hundred and twenty of the stoutest in cold blood, and drove the rest from the island, except such of the women as were young and handsome, of whom they made concubines and slaves. The Europeans had, however, but little reason to congratulate themselves on this exploit, having left one hundred of their number dead on the field.

From this period the Caribbees appear to have quitted altogether this and some small islands in the neighbourhood, and to have retired southwards. In the year 1627 the French and English agreed to a partition of the whole island; but for nearly half a century it exhibited a disgustful scene of internal contention, violence, and bloodshed. At the peace of Utrecht, the island was ceded wholly to the English, and the French possessions were publicly sold for the benefit of the English government. In 1733, 8000*l.* of the money was appropriated as a marriage portion with the princess Anne, who was betrothed to the prince of Orange.

Such was the origin and progress of the British establishment in this island. In 1782 it was taken by the French, and in the following year it was restored to Great-Britain.

* Pere du Tertre.

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St. Christopher's contains about forty-four thousand acres, of which seventeen thousand are appropriated to the growth of sugar: and the sugar grown in this island is unquestionably better than that of any of the other islands. Canes planted in particular spots have been known to produce 8000 lb. per acre. The general average produce for a series of years is sixteen thousand hogsheads of sixteen hundred weight each.

The island is divided into nine parishes, and contains four towns. Basseterre the capital contains eight hundred houses. The proportion which St. Christopher's contributes with the other islands, towards an honourable provision for the governor-general is 1000*l.* currency per annum, which is settled on him by the assembly immediately on his arrival. He has besides perquisites, which in time of war are considerable. Each island within this government has a separate council, and each of them an assembly, or house of representatives.

With St. Christopher's surrendered also the island of Nevis; from which it is divided only by a narrow channel; and of this we shall now give a brief account.

Nevis is a most beautiful spot, but is nothing more than a single mountain, rising like a cone in an easy ascent from the sea, the circumference of its base does not exceed eight English miles. The country is well watered and the land very fertile. The general produce is about sixteen hundred weight per acre from all the canes that are annually cut, which being four thousand acres, the return of the whole is an equal number of hogsheads, which was the average fixed on by the French government in 1782 as a rule for regulating the taxes.

Nevis is divided into five parishes; it contains a

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town called Charlestown, the seat of government. The commandant is appointed by the crown, but receives a salary from the island. The present number of whites does not exceed six hundred, while the negroes are about ten thousand, a disproportion which necessarily converts all the white men, capable of bearing arms, into a militia.

The English first established themselves in Nevis under Warner, in the year 1628. And what Mr. Warner began wisely was happily completed by his immediate successor Mr. Lake, under whose administration the island rose to opulence and importance. About the year 1640 it is said that there were four thousand whites in the island; so powerfully are mankind invited by the advantages of a mild and equitable system of government.

ANTIGUA is situated about twenty leagues to the eastward of St. Christopher's; it has not a single spring or rivulet in it, but nature presents few obstacles which the avarice or industry of civilized man will not endeavour to surmount. The soil of Antigua was found to be fertile, and it was discovered that cisterns might be contrived to hold rain water. So early as 1632 a few English families took up lands there, and began the cultivation of Tobacco. The prosperity of the island was manifest in its extensive population till the beginning of the last century, when Daniel Park, esq. was appointed to the government of this and the neighbouring islands. This man was a native of Virginia, and was distinguished for his excesses at a very early period of life. And in his government of Antigua he showed his contempt of every divine and moral obligation. He debauched the wife of Mr. Chester, the most considerable merchant in

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the island, and, to prevent any complaining on the part of the husband, attempted to get him convicted on a false accusation. After repeated enormities which outraged every feeling of humanity, he was recalled by the government at home; but he refused to obey, and set at defiance every one that attempted to control his operations; at length the people, exasperated at the injuries committed upon them, rose and murdered him, with a number of other persons who adhered to his cause.

Antigua contains about sixty thousand acres of land, of which more than half are appropriated to the growth of sugar. It is divided into six parishes, and contains as many towns. The capital is St. John's. No island in this part of the West-Indies has so many excellent harbours. Of these the principal are English harbour and St. John's; both are well fortified, and at the former the British government has established a royal navy-yard and arsenal, and conveniences for careening ships of war.

The legislature of Antigua is composed of the commander in chief, a council of twelve members, and an assembly of twenty-five, and it is to its credit, that it first presented an example to the sister islands of a melioration of the criminal law respecting negro slaves, by giving the accused party the benefit of a trial by jury. And it is still more honourable to this island that its inhabitants have encouraged, in a particular manner, the laudable endeavours of the Moravians, who, from the best motives, have undertaken to enlighten the minds of the negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of religious truth. The number of converted negroes, according to the accounts of the

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Moravians, in the year 1787, was more than sixteen thousand.

MONTSERRAT was discovered by Columbus at the same time with St. Christopher's, from which it was at first planted, in the year 1632, by a small colony of adventurers who had embarked under Warner. Their separation appears to have been occasioned by local attachments and religious dissentions, being chiefly natives of Ireland, and Roman catholics. The same causes, however, operated to the augmentation of their numbers; for so many persons of the same country and religion came over, soon after the first settlement, as to create a considerable white population, which it has ever since maintained.

Montserrat was invaded by the French in 1712, and suffered so much from their depredations, that an article was agreed upon in the treaty of Utrecht for appointing commissioners to inquire into the damages, which, however, were not made good to the sufferers. It was again invaded and, with most of the other islands, captured by the French during the American war, and restored with the rest.

This island is supposed to contain thirty thousand acres of land, of which almost two-thirds are very mountainous or barren. The produce of Montserrat is sugar, cotton, and provisions. The average crops taken for four years were two thousand seven hundred and thirty seven hogsheads of sugar; eleven hundred and seven puncheons of rum, and two hundred and seventy-five bales of cotton. And the proportion of negroes to whites was at that period about ten thousand to thirteen hundred. The government is administered by a legislature of its own, under a captain-general.

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The VIRGIN ISLANDS have been generally supposed to have derived their name from queen Elizabeth; but according to Mr. Edwards, Columbus discovered them in 1493, and gave them this appellation in allusion to a well-known legend in the Romish ritual of the eleven thousand virgins.

The Spaniards did not think them worthy of their attention, and no farther notice was taken of them till nearly a century after, when they were visited by the earl of Cumberland in his way to attack Porto-Rico, and the historian of that voyage calls them "a knot of little islands, wholly uninhabited, sandy, barren, and craggy." The whole group comprehends about forty islands, which are divided at present between the English, the Spaniards, and the Danes.

The first possessors of such of these islands as now belong to the British government, were a party of Dutch Buccaneers, who fixed themselves in Tortola and built a fort for their protection. In 1666 they were driven out by a stronger party of the same adventurers, who, calling themselves English, pretended to take possession for the crown of England; and Charles II. if he did not commission the enterprise, made no scruple to claim the benefit of it; for Tortola and its dependencies were soon after annexed to the Leeward island government, and the English title has remained unimpeached from that time to this.

The Dutch had made but little progress in cultivating the country when they were expelled from Tortola, and the chief merit of its subsequent improvement was reserved for some English settlers from the little island of Anguilla, who had formerly embarked with their families and settled in the Virgin Islands. Their wants were few, and their

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government simple and unexpensive. The deputy governor, with a council, nominated from among themselves, exercised both the legislative and judicial authority, determining in a summary way, without a jury, all questions between subject and subject, and when money was wanted for public use, it was raised by voluntary contributions.

Under this sort of system they continued till 1756, when the inhabitants petitioned to be put on the same footing with the sister islands, by the establishment of a perfect civil government and constitutional courts of justice among them; but in this expectation they were not gratified till the year 1773, when they pledged themselves to grant to his majesty an impost of four and a half per cent. on all goods and commodities the growth of these islands, similar to that which was paid in the other Leeward Islands.

Such was the price at which the Virgin Islands purchased the establishment of a constitutional legislature. The chief and almost the only staple productions of these islands are sugar and cotton. The value of the exports from them in the year 1787 amounted to one hundred and sixty-seven thousand pounds nearly.

THE BAHAMA ISLANDS, AND THE BERMUDAS.

The BAHAMA or LUCAYOS, though very numerous, are but little known. They are said to have been totally deserted, when in 1672 a few Englishmen took possession of the island Providence. But becoming a nest of pirates, a force was sent from England to subdue them, and a small regular colony was established in 1720. The English in the Bahama islands are computed at three or four thousand; half of which are settled in Providence,

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where there is a fort and a small harbour. The only article cultivated for exportation is cotton, of which the average export is about thirty hundred weight. The soil seems to be naturally barren, which accounts for their comparative insignificance in this grand commercial Archipelago.

The BERMUDAS or SOMMER Islands, were discovered by the Spaniards, but being neglected by them they were again disclosed by the shipwreck of sir George Sommer in 1609. By Shakespear they are described as ever vexed with storms; but Waller, who resided there some time, mentions them in different colours, as enjoying a perpetual spring. They contain about twelve or thirteen thousand acres of very poor land, nine-tenths of which are either uncultivated, or reserved in woods for the supply of timber for building small ships, &c. for sale, which is the principal employment of the inhabitants; and the vessels which they furnish being built of cedar, are light, buoyant, and unexpensive.

Of the land in cultivation, no part was appropriated to any other purpose than that of raising Indian corn and vegetables till the year 1785, when the growth of cotton was attempted, but with no great success. Of these little islands the chief is that called St. George, with a capital of the same name, containing five hundred houses built of free-stone. The number of inhabitants in all the islands is about nine thousand. The blacks are twice as numerous as the whites, and a great part of the trade consists in carrying salt to America.

Thus have we given an historical account of all the principal islands in the West-Indies. Cuba and Porto-Rico belong to Spain, and of their rise,

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together with that of St. Domingo, we have treated in the early part of this volume. To the French belong St. Domingo, (unless it be completely wrested from their dominion by the blacks, who have been long struggling for emancipation), Guadaloupe, Martinique, and some islets. The Danes possess St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John, which are part of the Virgin islands. The Swedes hold St. Bartholomew, and the Dutch St. Eustatius. To our own country are attached Jamaica, and Barbadoes; Grenada, St. Vincent, and Dominica; St. Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and the greater part of the Virgin isles; St. Lucie and Tobago have, during the present war, surrendered also to British valour. Trinidad was ceded to us by Spain at the peace of 1801.

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CHAP. XV.

Inhabitants of the West-Indies, how divided. Character and Manners of each Class. Sugar, the Mode of Cultivating. Cotton. Indigo. Coffee. Cocoa. Ginger. Arnatto. Aloes. Allspice. Of the Trade on the North-West Coast.

HAVING described the islands in the West-Indies separately, it remains only to enumerate such circumstances as will apply to them collectively, beginning with the population. The whole inhabitants may be divided into four great classes: 1. European whites; 2. Creole or native whites; 3. Creoles of mixed blood, and free native blacks; 4. Negroes in a state of slavery. Besides these there are many emigrants from North America, and a considerable body of Jews. About ten years ago, it appeared that in the English islands the number of white people was about sixty-five thousand, and of blacks four hundred and fifty-five thousand.

The leading feature in the character of the white inhabitants is an independent spirit, and a display of conscious equality, throughout all ranks and conditions. The poorest white person seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest, and, emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom, which, in the countries of Europe, is seldom displayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their superiors. In no part of the globe is the virtue of hospitality more generally prevalent than in the British sugar islands. The

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gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his guests. To be a stranger is of itself a sufficient introduction, and this species of hospitality is carried so far, that there is not a good inn throughout the West-Indies.

There are peculiarities in the habits of life of the white inhabitants which cannot fail to catch the eye of an European newly arrived; one of which is the contrast between the general plenty and magnificence of their tables, and the meanness of their houses and apartments. It being common to see a splendid sideboard of plate, and the choicest wines, with other things corresponding, in a hovel not superior to an English barn. The appearance of the negro domestics will also strike a stranger. The butler is the only attendant who is allowed the luxury of shoes and stockings: all the others are bare-footed, some, perhaps, half naked. English manners are also different in these from what we find them at home. Thus they say, *hand such a thing*, instead of *bring* or *give* it: an employment or office is called a *birth*; a kitchen is denominated a *cook room*; and in speaking of the east or west, they say to the windward and leeward.

But it is to the Creoles, or natives, that we must look for the original and peculiar cast of character impressed by the climate. They are obviously of a taller race than Europeans, but not so robust. They are distinguished for a suppleness and freedom in their joints, which enable them to move with agility and gracefulness in dancing, an exercise in which they delight and excel. In one of the principal features of beauty, few ladies surpass the Creoles; they have, in general, the finest eyes of any women in the world, sometimes beaming with animation; sometimes melting

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with tenderness; a sure index, says Mr. Edwards, to that native goodness of heart and gentleness of disposition for which they are eminently and deservedly applauded, and to which, combined with a sequestered and domestic life, it is doubtless owing, that no women on earth make better wives, or better mothers.

The next class are the *people of colour*, or native blacks of a free condition. It is not easy nor in this work necessary to discriminate all the varieties of these people. In the British islands their evidence is not received in criminal cases against a white person; they are ineligible to serve in parochial vestries and general assemblies, or to hold commissions in the militia; nor can they inherit a legacy exceeding 2000*l.* currency. To the negroes the people of colour are objects of envy and hatred, who abhor the idea of being slaves to the descendants of slaves. Thus circumstanced, the general character of the mulattoes is strongly marked by the peculiarity of their situation. In their deportment towards the white people they are humble, submissive, and unassuming. Their spirits seem to sink under the consciousness of their condition. They are accused, however, of proving bad masters, when invested with power, and their conduct towards their slaves is, in a high degree, harsh and imperious. The accusation, generally brought againt the free people of colour, is the incontinency of their women. This charge connot be denied, but the circumstances in which they are placed will rather excite the tear of pity, than invoke the weight of punishment. Their tenderness, as nurses, toward the sick; their disinterested gratitude and attachment where kindness is shown them, and their peaceful deportment un-

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der a rigorous system of laws, and the influence of manners still more oppressive, afford great room to lament that a more enlightened and liberal policy is not adopted towards them.

Of the last class, or negroes condemned to perpetual exile and servitude, though born in various and widely separated countries, it is not easy to discriminate the peculiar manners and native propensities. The similar and uniform system of life to which they are all reduced, the few opportunities and little encouragement that are given them for mental improvement, are circumstances that necessarily induce a predominant and prevailing cast of character and disposition. Nevertheless, there are among several of the African nations, some striking features which cannot easily be overlooked by a person residing in any one of the sugar plantations.

It is a well-authenticated fact that the negroes, in general, in our islands, at least such of them as have been long in a state of servitude, are of a distrustful and cowardly disposition. So degrading is the nature of slavery, that fortitude of mind is lost, in proportion as freedom is restrained. To the same cause, probably, must be imputed their propensity to conceal, or violate the truth; which is so general that it has been esteemed the most prominent feature in their character. If slavery call forth any virtues, they are those of sympathy and compassion towards persons in the same condition of life; accordingly negroes are in general strongly attached to their countrymen, but above all, to such of their companions who were transported in the same ship with them from Africa. But their benevolence, with few exceptions, extends no farther. The greatest of all wretchedness

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is felt by those who are doomed to be slaves of slaves. In certain handicraft employments, it is usual to place the young negroes in a sort of apprenticeship to the older ones who are competent to afford them instruction; but the harshness with which these people enforce their authority is extreme; they exercise all the wantonness of cruelty without restraint or remorse. The same observation may be made concerning their conduct towards the inferior animal creation. Even the useful and social qualities of the dog secure him no kind usage from an African master.

Such are the dire effects of slavery upon the human mind, and yet, dreadful is the thought, not less than seventy-four thousand Africans are annually torn from their own country, and carried by *Christian* masters to the West-India islands, and of these more than half are imported by the British planters!! A melancholy reflection to think, that people who enjoy more of the blessings of freedom than any nation in the old world, should be the most eager in encouraging the horrors of slavery in the new.

SUGAR.

In treating of the West-India islands it will be expected that some account should be given of the principal staple commodities, and of the modes adopted in their cultivation. The first object that naturally excites our attention is the sugar-cane, which has been pronounced one of the most valuable plants in creation. It is a native of the east, and was probably cultivated in India and Arabia from time immemorial; but at what time the Indians discovered the art of granulating the juice which is obtained from the cane, does not appear.

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Notwithstanding the disputes respecting the time and manner of the sugar-cane being transported to the West-Indies, the most probable opinion is that it was carried thither by Columbus, in his second voyage, from the Canary islands.

The sugar-cane is a jointed reed terminating in leaves, or blades, whose edges are finely and sharply serrated. The body of the cane is strong but brittle, and when ripe it is of a fine straw-colour, and contains a soft substance which affords a copious supply of juice, of a sweetness the least cloying and most agreeable in nature. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane is from one to three inches in length, and the cane itself is about an inch in diameter. The general height is from three feet and a half to seven feet, and in very rich lands the root has been known to put forth upwards of a hundred suckers.

The usual mode of *holing*, or planting by manual labour, is as follows: the quantity of land intended to be planted is divided into plats of fifteen or twenty acres each; these are subdivided, by means of a line and pegs, into small squares of about three feet and a half. The negroes are then placed in a row in the first line, one to a square, and directed to dig out with their hoes the several squares to the depth of five or six inches. The holes being now completed and the cuttings selected for planting, which are commonly the tops of the canes that have been ground for sugar, each containing five or six germs, two of these are placed longitudinally in the bottom of the hole, and covered with mould about two inches deep. In twelve or fourteen days the young sprouts begin to appear, and as soon as they rise a few inches above the ground they must be furnished with additional

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mould from the banks which have been thrown up in digging out the holes. At the end of four or five months the banks are wholly levelled, and the spaces between the rows carefully ploughed. Frequent cleanings are indispensable, and a careful manager will remove, at the same time, all the lateral shoots that spring up after the canes begin to joint. The properest season for planting is between August and November. Of the subject of manures, which is an important part of sugar culture, we shall not say any thing, but pass on from the field to the boiling-house.

The time of the crop in the sugar islands, is the season of gladness and festivity to man and beast. So salutary and nourishing is the juice of the cane, that every individual of the animal creation derives health and vigour from the use of it. The great obstacle at this season to the progress of such planters as are not happily furnished with the means of grinding their canes by water, is the frequent failure or insufficiency of their mills; for though a sugar mill is a very simple contrivance, it, nevertheless, requires great force to make it overcome the resistance which it necessarily meets with. It consists principally of three upright iron-plated cylinders, and the middle one, to which the moving power is applied, turns the other two by means of cogs. Between these cylinders the canes are twice compressed; for having passed through the first and second cylinders, they are turned round the middle one by a circular piece of frame-work, and forced through the second and third operation, which squeezes them completely dry, and sometimes reduces them to powder. The cane-juice is received in a leaden bed, and thence conveyed into the receiver. The

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macerated rind of the cane serves for fuel to boil the liquor.

The juice from the mill commonly contains eight parts of pure water, one of sugar, and one of mucilage. From the receiver the juice runs to the boiling-house along a wooden gutter lined with lead. It is received into a copper pan or cauldron, called a clarifier. A fire is lighted and some white-lime is stirred into it, which neutralizes the superabundant acid, and at the same time becomes the basis of the sugar. As the fire increases in force, a scum is thrown up, and the heat is suffered gradually to augment, till it rises to within a few degrees of the heat of boiling water. The liquor is then left to cool and drawn off, leaving the scum behind. The liquor is conveyed to the evaporating boiler, where it undergoes several operations till it is exceedingly thick, when it is drawn into a *cooler*, where the sugar grains, that is, as it cools it runs into a coarse irregular mass of imperfect semiformed crystols, separating itself from the molasses. From the cooler it is carried into the curing-house, where the molasses drains from it, and the process is finished.

Sugar, thus obtained, is called *muscovado*, and is the raw material from whence the British sugar-bakers make their loaf or refined lump. There is another sort known by the name of Lisbon sugar; in the West Indies it is called *clayed* sugar, and is thus obtained. The sugar taken from the cooler is put into conical pans with the points downwards, having a hole about half an inch in diameter at the bottom for the molasses to drain through, and when they cease to drop, a stratum of moistened clay is spread on the sugar, which is the means of

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carrying away more molasses, and leaving the sugar finer than that cured in the hogshead. From the molasses or treacle, scummings of the hot cane-juice, &c. is made rum; but it is not necessary to detail the process of the distillery: we shall proceed to consider some of the minor staple commodities, beginning with

COTTON.

Cotton is a beautiful vegetable wool, and is found growing spontaneously in all the tropical regions of Asia, Africa, and America. The cotton-wool, which is manufactured into cloth, consists of two distinct kinds, known by the names of the GREEN-SEED COTTON, and SHRUB-COTTON. The former is divided into two species, which produce pods at an early stage, but, if suffered to grow, they will rise into trees of considerable magnitude, and yield annual crops according to the season, without any kind of cultivation. The SHRUB-COTTON, properly so called, is divisible into several varieties, but the most profitable sorts are the green seed, the small seed, and the Brasilian. The mode of culture is the same with all the different species.

The plant is raised from the seed. The young sprouts make their appearance in about a fortnight. At the age of four months they are *topped*, by having an inch or more taken from the end of each shoot, which is done to make the stems throw out a greater number of lateral branches. This operation is sometimes performed a second and even a third time. At the end of five months the plant begins to blossom, and in two months more the pod is formed, which, when ripe, bursts open in three partitions, displaying the white and glossy down to the sight. The wool is now gathered, and

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extricated from the seeds by a machine resembling a turner's lathe. It is afterwards sorted and hand-picked, and then packed in bags, containing two hundred weight each, and sent to market. The finest grained cotton which is brought to the English market, is that from the Dutch plantations of Berbice, Demerara, and Surinam, and from the island of Cayenne.

Of all the productions to which labour is applied, the cotton plant is, perhaps, the most precarious. In its first stage it is liable to be attacked by the grub: it is often devoured by caterpillars in the second; it is sometimes withered by the blast; and rains frequently destroy it both in the blossom and the pod. The Bahama islands afforded a melancholy instance of the uncertainty of this production in 1788, when, between the months of September and March, no less than two hundred and eighty tons were devoured by the worm.

Of such importance, however, is the cotton manufactory to our country, that it is computed not less than six hundred thousand people of all ages find employment in it. And it has been asserted, that a pound of raw cotton wool from Demarara has been spun into a thread that would have extended one hundred and sixty-nine miles.

INDIGO.

The plant which yields the very valuable commodity called indigo, grows spontaneously in all the West-India islands. There are three sorts; the wild, Guatimala, and French. The first is said to be the hardiest, and the dye extracted from it of the best quality, but the others are preferred as yielding a greater return, and of these the French surpasses the Guatimala in quantity,

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but yields to it in fineness of grain and beauty, and of colour. The richest lands produce the most luxuriant plants, but the indigo will thrive on soils that appear to bo fit for nothing else. The cultivation and manufacture are thus conducted:

The land being cleared from weeds, is hoed into small trenches of two or three inches in depth, and twelve or fourteen inches asunder; in the bottom of these, the seeds are strewed and covered lightly with mould; but as the plants shoot the field must be kept constantly clean, until they rise and spread sufficiently to cover the ground. In the West-Indies they have sometimes four cuttings in the year from the same roots. It is a plant that requires much sun, and will scarcely prosper any where beyond the tropics. But that sun, which improves and invigorates the plant, propagates at the same time an insect destructive to it. This is a species of grub, which becomes a fly and preys on the leaves, and never fails, in the West-Indies, to disappoint the planter's expectations the second year upon the same land: the only remedy is *to change the soil every year*. If this destructive insect be prevented, the produce per acre, for the first cutting, will be about eighty pounds; and though the product of subsequent cuttings somewhat diminishes, yet in Jamaica and St. Domingo, if the land be new, about three hundred pounds per acre of the second quality may be annually expected from all the cuttings together, and four negroes are sufficient to carry on the cultivation of five acres, besides doing other occasional work sufficient to reimburse the expenses of their maintenance.

The process for obtaining the dye is conducted

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in two cisterns, which are placed like steps, the one ascending to the other. There is an aperture in the upper one near the bottom for discharging the fluid into the second. The plant is cut with reaping hooks, and put in the upper cistern to ferment. When sufficiently fermented, the tincture is discharged into the lower vessel, and there agitated till the dye begins to granulate or float in little flakes in the water. The flakes are left to settle at the bottom, when the incumbent water is drawn off, and the indigo distributed into small linen bags to drain, after which it is carefully put into little square boxes or moulds, and suffered to dry in the shade, and this finishes the manufacture.

At first sight this manufacture seems to be one of the most profitable of all speculations, but the nicety of the process, and other circumstances not completely investigated, too frequently disappoint the planters' hopes. "In the course of eighteen years," says Mr. Edwards, "I have known twenty persons commence Indigo planters, not one of whom has left a trace by which I can now point out where his plantation was situated, except, perhaps, the remains of a ruined cistern covered by weed or defiled by reptiles. Many of them too were men of knowledge, foresight, and property. But disappointment trod close on the heels at every step. At one time the fermentation was too long continued; at another, the liquor was drawn off too soon. Now the pulp was not duly granulated, and now it was worked too much. To these inconveniencies were added others of a much greater magnitude: the mortality of the negroes from the vapour of the fermented liquor, the failure of the seasons, and the ravages of the worm. These, or

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some of these evils drove them at length to other pursuits, where industry might find a surer recompense."

COFFEE.

Coffee will thrive on almost every soil in the West-Indies; the usual mode of planting is to lay out the land into squares of eight feet, or in other words, to sow the seeds, or set the young plants, eight feet distant from each other on all sides, which gives six hundred and eighty trees to each acre. In rich soils a single tree has been known to yield from six to eight pounds of coffee when dried. No produce is to be expected until the third year from planting, when the trees will yield but little, the fourth about seven hundred pounds per acre; and on the average, if the plantation be carefully attended to, the annual produce in moderate land may be reckoned at seven hundred and fifty pounds; and a single negro is able to take proper care of an acre and a half.

The most important business of the planter is the gathering the crop, and the curing it for market. As soon as the berries acquire the colour of a black red on the trees, they are supposed to be sufficiently ripe for picking. The negroes employed in this business are provided each with a canvas bag, with a hoop in the mouth to keep it open. It is hung about the neck of the picker, who empties it occasionally into a basket, and if he be industrious he may pick three bushels a day. One hundred bushels in the pulp, fresh from the tree, will give about 1000 pounds weight of merchantable coffee. The pulp and parchment skin are removed by means of machinery, and different planters make use of different modes of operation. Great

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care must be taken in shipping coffee for Europe, that it be put into parts of the ship where it may not receive the effluvia of the other freight, as nothing is more remarkably disposed to imbibe exhalations. A few bags of pepper have been known to spoil a whole cargo of coffee.

COCOA; GINGER; ARNATTO; ALOES; ALLSPICE.

The COCOA or chocolate nut, is a native of South America, and is said to have been carried to Hispaniola from the provinces of New Spain, where, besides affording to the natives an article of nourishment, it served the purposes of money, and was used as a medium of barter. The cultivation of this highly nutritious production is conducted in the following manner. Having chosen and cleared a spot of level land, sheltered round with thick wood to secure it from the north wind, the planter digs a number of holes twenty feet distant from one another, into each of which three seeds are placed with great care: if all three vegetate, which rarely happens, one or two are cut down. The fifth year the tree begins to bear, and the eighth it attains its full perfection. It then produces two crops of fruit in the year, yielding at each from ten to twenty pounds weight, and it will sometimes continue bearing twenty years; but it is obnoxious to blights, and shrinks from the first appearance of drought. It has happened that the greatest part of a large plantation has perished in a single night without any visible cause. Circumstances of this nature, in early times, gave rise to many superstitious notions concerning this tree, and among others, the appearance of a comet was always considered as fatal to the cocoa. For

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merly the cultivation of this plant was both extensive and successful in the British sugar islands; but at present there is not a single plantation in Jamaica.—A few scattered trees are all that remain of those beautiful groves which were once the pride and boast of the country. The only plantations of any account in our colonies are in Grenada and Dominica, and the worth of the annual produce is not estimated at more than ten or eleven thousand pounds.

GINGER is supposed to have been originally carried to Hispaniola from the East Indies. It requires no greater skill in the cultivation than potatoes in this country: it is planted much in the same manner, and is fit for digging only once a year, unless for preserving in syrup. It is distinguished into the black and white, but this difference arises wholly from the mode of curing; the former being rendered fit for preservation by means of boiling water, the latter by being exposed for a length of time to the rays of the sun; but as it is necessary to select the fairest, soundest, and in every respect the best roots, for the latter purpose, white ginger is one third or more dearer than the black.

ARNATTO is a shrub which rises to the height of seven or eight feet, and produces oblong hairy pods, somewhat resembling those of a chesnut; within these are envelloped, in a kind of pulp of a bright red colour, thirty or forty seeds: the pulp is something like paint; and as paint it was used by the Indians, in the same manner as woad was used by the ancient Britons. The method of extracting the pulp is by boiling the seeds in clear water, till they are extricated, after which the seeds are taken out, and the pulp left to subside. It is then drawn off, and the sediment distributed

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in shallow vessels, and dried in the shade. Arnatto thus prepared is sometimes mixed with chocolate, to which it gives a fine tincture, and some medicinal virtue; but its principal consumption is among painters and dyers. It is frequently used by farmers to give a richness of colour to their butter.

ALOES are propagated by suckers, and will thrive in soils the most dry and barren. To collect the juice, the leaves are cut off near the stalk, and then placed on each other after the manner of hollow tiles. The juice of the first leaf flows into a vessel below, and the same leaf serves as a channel for the juice of those above it. When all the juice is collected, it is brought to a proper consistence, at Jamaica by evaporation, but at Barbadoes, where it is chiefly cultivated, by ebullition. When it becomes of the consistence of honey it is poured into gourds for sale, and in them it hardens by age.

The PIEMENTO or ALLSPICE is one of the most elegant productions of nature; it combines the flavour and properties of many of those spices which are raised in the east, and forms, as its name denotes, a sort of substitute for them all. This tree is purely the child of nature, and seems to mock the labours of man in his endeavours to extend or improve its growth: not one attempt in fifty to propagate young plants, where it is not found growing spontaneously, having succeeded. In the whole vegetable creation there is not a tree of greater beauty than the young piemento. The trunk, which is of a grey colour, smooth and shining, and altogether free from bark, rises from fifteen to twenty feet high. It branches out on all sides, and is richly clothed with leaves of a deep green, somewhat like those of the bay-tree; and

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these, in July and August, are beautifully contrasted and relieved by an exuberance of white flowers. From the leaves, which are as fragrant as the fruit, is obtained by distillation a fluid which is known by the name of the oil of cloves. The berries are gathered by hand, and then dried in the sun.

OF THE TRADE ON THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA.

We cannot conclude our volume without briefly noticing some facts relating to the north-west coast of America. When captain Cook and the other British navigators were sent out upon voyages of discovery, it certainly was not foreseen that any particular commercial advantages would arise from their several expeditions. But the extension of the fur trade to the north-west coast of America is already one beneficial consequence from Cook's discoveries.

Of all materials for human clothing, none are more salutary to the inhabitants of the northern and middle latitudes, than the furs of the arctic quadrupeds. In the Chinese empire and in Europe the demand for these furs is immense. They are indeed to be procured from the northern parts of Europe, Asia, and America. But the progress of civilization renders those animals that are covered with fur, very rare in the north of Europe. As civilization is extended, these animals will be still more exterminated. Our knowledge therefore of a coast, of which we were before ignorant, where furs may be procured in abundance, was an important acquisition to the interests of commerce. From London, from India, and from the United

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States, expeditions for the fur trade on the north-west American coast have now for many years been fitted out. The first attempts were exposed to some of those inconveniences, and losses, that ever attend any considerable new undertakings. The Russians and the Spaniards share it with the English. The dispute respecting Nootka Sound arose between Spain and England, in consequence of the benefits which were promised by this trade, but these were so adjusted as to leave the trade still open to Britain.

These differences being terminated, captain Vancouver was sent out upon further and more particular discoveries; from him we learn the existence of isles on the western coast of America, not less numerous nor less extensive than those on its eastern side. His observations, the effect of patience and perseverance, coincide with those of the British and American fur traders, which were, in some instances, prior to his; and in others came only to confirm them.

In connexion with the trade on this coast the Sandwich, the Friendly, the Society Isles, and the other similar groups in the Pacific Ocean, have acquired new importance, as being well adapted for victualling and wintering places for the ships engaged in that traffic. And it is earnestly to be hoped that in proportion to the advantages obtained from them by Europeans, they in return will adopt every measure in their power to benefit the natives, by introducing among them every species of food that will flourish in their soil and climate, and by treating them with that humanity and kindness, which as christians they are bound to exhibit towards every individual of the human species.

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TABLE I.

DIVISIONS OF NORTH AMERICA.

Names of States and Colonies.	la. cap. towns.	lon. from Philadel.	chief towns.	belonging to
New-Hampshire,	43,5	38,54 E.	Portsmouth	Thirteen United States.
Massachusetts,	42,25	3,39 E.	Boston,	
Rhode-Island,	41,30	3,24 E.	Newport,	
Connecticut,	41,19	1,56 E.	N. Haven,	
New-York,	40,40	1,5 E.	New-York,	
New-Jersey,	40,15	0,23 E.	Trenton,	
Pennsylvania,	39,56	00,00	Philadel.	
Delaware,	39,10	00,25 W.	Dover,	
Maryland,	39,2	1,37 W.	Annapolis,	
Virginia,	37,40	2,42 W.	Richmond,	
North-Carolina,	36,04	1,52 W.	Edenton,	
South-Carolina,	32,35	5,00 W.	Charleston,	
Georgia,	33,39	7,00 W.	Augusta,	
Vermont,	42,42	1,44 E.	Bennington	
Western territory,	39,34	6,30 W.	Adelphi,	
Kentucky,	38,25	10,00 W.	Lexington,	
Louisiana,	29,57	14,40 W.	N. Orleans,	
Province of Quebec,	46,55	4,56 E.	Quebec,	G. Bri.
Nova-Scotia,	44,56	14,29 E.	Halifax,	do.
E. and W. Floridas,	29,51	6,30 W.	Augustine,	Spain.
New Mexico,	36,45	3,32 W.	St. Fee,	do.
California,	26,5	39 W.	St. Juan,	do.
Old Mexico,	20,0	26 W.	Mexico,	do.

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TABLE II.

The following recapitulation will comprehend, in one view, the first discoveries and settlements of the several parts of North America.

Names of Places.	*When settled.*	*By whom.*
Quebec,	1608	By the French.
Virginia,	June, 1609	By Lord De la Ware.
Newfoundland,	June, 1610	By Governor John Guy.
New-York, New-Jersey,	about 1614	By the Dutch.
Plymouth,	1620	By part of Mr. Robinson's congregation.
New-Hampshire,	1623	By a small English colony, near the mouth of Piscataqua river.
Delaware, Pennsylvania,	1627	By the Swedes and Fins.
Massachusett's Bay,	1628	By Capt. John Endicot and company.
Maryland,	1633	By lord Baltimore with a colony of Roman catholics.
Connecticut,	1635	By Mr. Fenwick, at Saybrook, near the mouth of Connecticut river.
Rhode-Island,	1635	By Mr. Roger Williams and his persecuted brethren.
New-Jersey,	1664	Granted to the Duke of York by Charles II. and made a distinct government, and settled some time before this by the English.
South-Carolina,	1669	By Governor Sayle.
Pennsylvania,	1682	By William Penn, with a colony of Quakers.
North-Carolina, about	1728	Erected into a separate government, settled before by the English.
Georgia,	1732	By General Oglethorpe.
Kentucky,	1773	By Col. Daniel Boon.
Vermont,	1777	By emigrants from Connecticut, and other parts of New-England.
Territory N. W. of Ohio river,	1787	By the Ohio and other companies.

The above dates are from the periods when the first permanent settlements were made.

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TABLE III.

POPULATION OF AMERICA IN 1801.

	Free White Males.	*Free White Females.*	*All other free Persons.*	*Slaves.*	*Total.*
New-Hampshire . . .	91,258	91,740	852	8	183,858
Massachusetts	205,135	211,258	6,452	——	422,845
Maine	76,832	74,069	818	——	151,719
Connecticut	121,193	123,528	5,330	951	251,002
Vermont	79,328	74,580	557	——	154,465
Rhode-Island	31,858	33,580	3,304	380	69,122
New-York	287,094	268,122	10,374	20,613	586,203
New-Jersey	98,725	95,600	4,402	12,422	211,149
Pennsylvania	301,467	284,628	14,564	1,706	602,365
Delaware	25,033	24,819	8,268	6,153	64,273
Maryland	113,688	108,310	19,987	107,707	349,692
Virginia	264,399	254,275	20,307	346,968	886,149
North-Carolina . . .	171,648	166,116	7,043	133,296	478,103
South-Carolina . . .	100,916	95,339	3,185	146,151	345,591
Georgia	53,968	48,293	1,019	59,404	162,684
Kentucky	93,961	85,915	741	40,343	220,960
Territory N. W. Ohio .	24,433	20,595	337	——	45,365
Indiana Territory . . .	2,979	2,318	188	156	5,641
Missisippi Territory . .	2,907	2,272	182	13,489	8,850
Tennessee	47,180	44,529	309	3,584	105,602
Total .	2,194,002	2,109,886	108,419	893,331	5,305,638

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TABLE III. continued.

Males under 10 years of age	763,272
—— of 10 and under 16 years	343,034
—— of 16 and under 26 years	392,829
—— of 26 and under 45 years	432,290
—— of 45 and upwards	262,577
Females under 10 years of age	725,321
——— of 10 and under 16 years . . .	323,287
——— of 16 and under 26 years . . .	401,503
——— of 26 and under 45 years . . .	405,229
——— of 45 and upwards	234,546
All other Persons except Indians not taxed .	108,419
Slaves	893,331
Total	5,305,638 *

* In 1791 the total Number was 3,929,326.

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TABLE IV.

Statement of the PUBLIC DEBT *of the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA, *with the Interest and Charges thereon, including Reimbursement on the six per cent. and deferred Stock, and exclusive of sums passed to the Credit of the Sinking Fund.*

		Principal.			Interest and Reimbursement.		
	l. *s.* *d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Six per cent. Stock -	6,345,451 13 4	9,422,893	3	6	753,831	9	0
Deferred ditto - -	3,077,441 10 2						
Three per cent. - - - - - -		4,292,933	15	4	128,788	0	2
Navy six per cent. -	160,132 10						
Ditto 1796 - -	18,000 0 0						
Five and half per cent.	415,687 10 0						
Four and a half per cent.	39,600 0 0	2,707,965	0	0	186,378	17	3
Eight per cent. - -	1,458,045 0 0						
Bank six per cent. -	357,750 0 0						
Ditto five per cent. -	258,750 0 0						
Dutch debt - - - - -		2,230,875	0	0	107,309	9	6
Total nominal debt - - - -		18,654,666	18	10	1,176,307	15	11
Amount of six per cent. and deferred stock redeemed on the 1st of January 1802,		1,131,241	12	6	90,499	6	7
Unredeemed debt on Jan. 1, 1802, - -		17,523,425	6	4	1,085,808	9	4

		Principal.			Interest and Reimbursement.		
	l. *s.* *d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Navy six per cent. -	9,607 19 0						
Ditto 1796 - -	1,080 0 0						
Five and half per cent.	22,862 16 3						
Four and a half per cent.	1,782 0 0						
Eight per cent. - -	116,643 12 0						
Bank six per cent. -	21,465 0 0						
Ditto five per cent. -	12,937 10 0						
Dutch debt - - - - -							

N. B. The public accounts of the United States are kept in dollars and cents, which, in the above statement, are reduced into British money, at the rate of 4s. 6d. the dollar.

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END OF VOL. XXIV.

OR VOL. XV. OF THE MODERN PART.

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